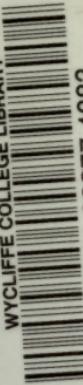


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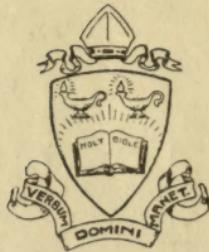
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EUGENE STOCK, D.C.L.



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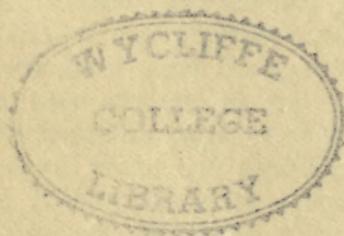
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THE NINETEENTH
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BY

EUGENE STOCK, D.C.L.



LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

NEW YORK, BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA

1910

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PREFACE

THIS little book is an attempt to do, on a very small scale, what has not yet been done, so far as I am aware. It may be that the forthcoming work by Mr. F. Warre Cornish will prove to be the adequate and impartial presentation of the subject which is so much needed. I had hoped to have the great advantage of reading it before sending my MS. to the printers, but it has not appeared in time.

Of existing books, the only one in my judgment really satisfactory is the late Canon Overton's, which has the same title as my own; but it only covers one-third of the century, 1800-1833. Works that include the remaining two-thirds are histories of the Church from an earlier period, and naturally afford but little space for later events and episodes; while of these events and episodes the writers seem to think only three or four worth recording, viz. the Oxford Movement, the Revival of Convocation, and the *Essays and Reviews* and Ritual Controversies. One standard book does treat the period more at length; but its omissions are very strange, as my readers will perceive by referring to the footnote on page 51 of the present volume.

I write, of course, from the standpoint of an Evangelical Churchman; but I have honestly sought to do justice to all parties, and to manifest sympathy with all good work for the Church and the Church's Lord.

It will be seen that the concluding chapter is occupied with a brief summary of the leading events since 1900. The decade has been so interesting that to stop short of it would have been to spoil the book.

Owing to the limits of space, I have avoided footnotes, and only occasionally mentioned my authorities. But this is not because they have not been carefully consulted.

E. S.

August 1910.

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THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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THE CHURCH IN THE FIRST DECADE

England in 1801—Condition of the Church—The Universities—Quiet Church People—“Clapton” and “Clapham Sects”—Low Churchmen and Evangelicals—Evangelical Disabilities—Who were Dominant?

THE nineteenth century closed with an event of high importance. At midnight of 31st December 1900 we stepped into the new century, conscious of the imminence of that grave event; and before twenty-two days had run their course our great Queen had passed away, and the Victorian era, with all its wonderful memories, had come to an end.

No such climax of a historic period had marked the opening of the nineteenth century. The environment of 1801 presented no perceptible change from the environment of 1800. One event, indeed, of real importance occurred at the midnight that witnessed the demise of the one century and the birth of the other. Great Britain and Ireland became one kingdom, and the two Churches, separate before, became—but only for seventy years—“the United Church.” The new year, too, presently brought a peace between England and France which was welcomed as the close of a harassing and expensive war; but it only lasted a year and a half, and was then followed by a still longer and more arduous conflict. In the next year or two England was in almost hourly dread of invasion by the flotilla which Buonaparte had collected just across the Channel; and this dread was only finally allayed by the crowning victory of Trafalgar.

It was a dark and discouraging period. The French Revolution had filled the British mind with terror and dismay, and all

the more because sympathy with it on the part of some who called themselves patriots had led to open disaffection, King George III. having been violently mobbed on his way to open Parliament, and the most inflammatory publications having been actively distributed. Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* had leaped into popularity, while it was regarded by the majority of sober citizens as subversive of the constitution. To subsidise the Continental Powers that were fighting France, taxes had been heaped upon taxes, and the National Debt had risen by leaps and bounds. The scarcity of bread almost amounted to famine, and great were the sufferings of the poor. Only three years earlier, the Bank of England had stopped payment; and a voluntary subscription of two millions sterling had been raised to assist the Treasury to pay the expenses of the war. Worst of all, a mutiny on board the fleet that was guarding our shores had for the moment brought the country into more imminent peril than it had incurred for centuries.

The Church of England was affected by this environment in two very different ways. On the one hand, her established position was strengthened by the general desire to stand by all that was stable and respectable in the national institutions. On the other hand, the dread of any and every innovation, which was the natural result of the alarm excited by the revolutionary excesses in France, was a great obstacle to any new plans for the religious improvement of the people; besides which, there was, owing to the war, no money to spend upon such plans, even if they had been formed. But as Dr. Overton says, "the Church had reached low-water mark before the eighteenth century closed, and the dawn of the nineteenth century synchronised approximately with the turn of the tide."

Low-water mark: was it really so? Hardly, if the phrase were used of the general religious condition of the country. Bad as things still were, the Methodist movement under Wesley and Whitefield had unquestionably wrought a great improvement in the preceding half-century. But that movement, though all its original leaders were clergymen of the Church of England, had not much affected Church life, with the important exception that from it had issued the Evangelical School, comprising the men who, while sharing in the work of evangelisation, clung steadfastly to the Church, and submitted to the limitations involved in so doing. The abuses of the eighteenth century were still rife, although there was now a growing sense that they really were

abuses and must be dealt with. In the large and growing towns the church accommodation was quite insufficient for the population ; but, it was argued, What would be the use of building more churches when those we have are half empty? And so, great London parishes like Marylebone and St. Pancras, with 50,000 and 60,000 souls, remained with one church ; and during the whole sixty years of George III.'s reign only six churches were built in the metropolis. In the country districts few attended public worship, and too many of the clergy were glad enough when none appeared at all, and so they were relieved from the necessity of holding a service. They were pluralists ; they were keen sportsmen ; some of them drank heavily ; not a few were openly vicious. The evidence set forth by Dr. Overton in his *English Church in the Nineteenth Century*—and no man was less likely to vilify the Church—is decisive. Bishop Porteus of London, who was delivering his famous Lent Lectures in 1800 and 1801, declared that the moral and religious state of the kingdom was “so unfavourable as to excite the most serious alarm.” Bishop Horsley of Rochester, the ablest man on the Bench, in his charge in 1800, spoke of the “general indifference about the doctrines of Christianity” and the “general neglect of its duties.” Sydney Smith, in his more incisive style, complained that while the clergy were “freezing common-sense in stately churches, amid whole acres and furlongs of empty pews,” the crowd were “feasting on ungrammatical fervour and illiterate animation in the crumbling hovels of Methodism,” and that “any semi-delirious sectary could gesticulate away the congregation of the most learned divine of the Established Church, and in two Sundays preach him bare to the very sexton.” Let one significant fact be alluded to, which is not mentioned by Overton and the other writers on the period, viz. that even many years later, when things were much better, the daily service in Chester Cathedral changed its hour in the race week, to enable clergy and people to attend the races !

The state of the Universities at the period is significant of their influence on the Church. At Oxford, says Overton, “professors who never lectured, tutors who never taught, students who never studied, were the rule rather than the exception.” It was only in the first year of our century, 1801, that honour examinations were begun ; and as Bishop E. Copleston of Llandaff tells us that “the old régime thought it the era of an alarming revolution,” we are not surprised that only two men took honours in the first

year. Cambridge had begun before ; but in other respects it needed reform no less. As for University religion, six Oxford students had been expelled a few years before for praying and reading the Scriptures in private houses ; which led to the remark that extempore praying was forbidden, while extempore swearing was tolerated. Ameng other charges against them were that they were “enthusiasts” who “talked of regeneration, inspiration, and drawing nigh to God,” that they held “Justification by Faith without Works,” and that they were connected with “Methodists,” Henry Venn and John Newton being named.

But while the general condition of the Church may warrant the term “low-water mark,” it must not be supposed that experimental religion was non-existent. There were certainly three sections of Church people who were the salt of the community. First, among the ranks of ordinary middle-class folk, there were many families in which the piety was genuine, though somewhat old-fashioned in tone and lacking in fervour. Men and women were quiet, steady church-goers, regular though not frequent communicants, lovers of their Bible and Prayer Book, observers of Church seasons, bringing up their children in the fear of the Lord ; but with a horror of “enthusiasm”—which term, indeed, was habitually used for Christian earnestness of any kind.

Then, secondly, there was a small but influential High Church party, comprising able and earnest men, who were the successors of the High Churchmen of Queen Anne’s time and the precursors of the future Tractarians. Among them were the most active and learned of the Bishops. They must on no account be confounded with the great majority of the Bishops and clergy who are usually called “High and Dry,” but who, in fact, would be better described as “Low and Slow.” Although they valued the connection of Church and State, they believed in the English Church as a branch of the Church Catholic quite independently of establishment ; they upheld the doctrine of Apostolical Succession and the sacerdotal character of the ministry ; they set a much higher value on the Sacraments than the average Churchmen of the period did. Bishops Horsley and Van Mildert should be reckoned as belonging to this school, and the future Bishop of Calcutta, T. F. Middleton ; but the men chiefly instrumental in keeping its old traditions alive were presbyters like Jones of Nayland—who, however, had died just before the new century opened,—Sikes of Guilsborough, H. H. Norris, J. J.

Watson, Archdeacon Daubeney of Bristol, and C. Wordsworth, Master of Trinity; and laymen like W. Stevens and Joshua Watson. Norris and the two Watsons lived at Hackney, and the party, or rather coterie, came to be known as the Hackney Phalanx or Clapton Sect—the latter designation being obviously in contradistinction to the Clapham Sect of Evangelicals. Horsley and Van Mildert were able theological writers; Van Mildert and Norris conducted the *British Critic*, the organ of the school; Joshua Watson was the leading spirit in the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G., and in the other Church Societies presently founded. In this "Orthodox" party, as it has been called, there was life and vigour; but it was small and unaggressive, and its influence was not commensurate with the real ability of its members.

In the third place, there was the "Clapham Sect," a fruit, as has been said, of the Methodist Revival. The first generation of Evangelicals, among whom were the first Henry Venn, Romaine, Toplady, John Thornton the banker, and the poet Cowper, were dead; but John Newton and Richard Cecil lived into the first decade of the new century. The second generation—though, of course, overlapping—comprised John Venn (son of the first Henry and father of the second), T. Scott the commentator, Charles Simeon of Cambridge, the two Milners (Isaac, Dean of Carlisle, and Joseph, the Church historian), Josiah Pratt, and many less-known men; and of the laity, William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton the banker (son of John), Charles Grant (the East India director), Zachary Macaulay and James Stephen (both fathers of still more distinguished sons), and Lord Teignmouth. John Venn was Rector of Clapham, and at that pleasant suburban village (as it was then) lived Wilberforce and Thornton and other of the leading Evangelical laymen; hence the term "Clapham Sect." No Bishop was of this school. Bishop Porteus, of London, was friendly with the leaders, and supported some of their philanthropic schemes; but it is a mistake to identify him with the party; and Dudley Ryder, who really was one of them, was not raised to the Episcopate till 1815.

There can be no doubt that the "Clapham" men were far more active and, in a sense, influential than the "Clapton" men, though with few exceptions they were not so learned. It is usual to credit them with the abolition of the Slave Trade and the establishment of the C.M.S. and the Bible Society; but, in fact, there were few movements at home and abroad for the good of mankind in which they did not take an important share. They

were, of course, not strong Churchmen in the same sense as the "Orthodox" or "High" school, and they were certainly deficient in even a milder view of the Visible Church Catholic; yet they were too well-informed to imagine that the English Church dates from the sixteenth century, and they were wont to justify their plans and methods by appeals to the Fathers of the Early Christian centuries. Charles Simeon was reproached by extremists as "more of a *Church-man* than a *Gospel-man*," because he said, "The Bible first, the Prayer Book next, and all other books in subordination to both." To the Church as Reformed and Established they were entirely loyal. Their church services, though of course far from our modern standard, were at least much above the average of the period in reverence and earnestness, and on Sundays were attended by crowded congregations. Their doctrine was that of the Thirty-nine Articles in the plain and literal sense. In the great controversy of those days, Calvinism *v.* Arminianism, they were substantially on the side of the former; but very few of them held the rigorous views of ultra-Calvinists like Romaine and Toplady. They never doubted that Christ died for all men; and they condemned Antinomianism with unsparing severity.¹ They preached a full salvation as a free gift from God through Christ, to be received by faith; but they insisted that faith without works was dead—works not to procure salvation, but to prove the reality of conversion. They believed in eternal perdition for rejecters of Christ, and they gave themselves, body, soul, and spirit, to the work of saving men from such a fate.

At this point it is important to correct a very common mistake. The statement is constantly made that the Evangelicals were the dominant party in the early years of the nineteenth century. The one only ground for this view is that they were "the strongest spiritual force," to use Overton's words. That is quite true. They were more numerous than the little band of real High Churchmen, and much more active than the quietly pious families before referred to; so that if a man had any spiritual earnestness, if he became what was called in those days "serious," the presumption was that he was an Evangelical. But the three sections together were but a small minority of Church people.

The great mass of the clergy were what I have called above

¹ Bishop Marsh of Peterborough, in 1822, framed a series of eighty-seven questions for his ordination candidates, which were called a Trap for Calvinists; but he included such doctrines as Justification by Faith, which should have been above controversy.

“Low and Slow,” or, in the Scottish sense of the term, “Moderate.” They were equally opposed to Rome and to Dissent, and they hated “enthusiasm” of any kind. The union of Church and State, with the State practically ruling the Church, was their ideal, one may almost say their idol. “Our happy Establishment” was their favourite phrase. What sort of religious influence they exercised on the people, and what sort of lives many of them led, has already been indicated. It is essential to a right understanding of the period to distinguish between “Low Churchmen” and “Evangelicals.” The Evangelicals were Low Churchmen, it is true, but the immense majority of Low Churchmen hated and despised the Evangelical minority. It is one great merit of Mr Balleine’s *History of the Evangelical Party* that he, perhaps for the first time, makes this perfectly clear; but the general fact that the Evangelicals were not dominant is strongly insisted on by Overton, and strikingly illustrated by Gladstone in his essay on the Evangelical Movement published in vol. vii. of his *Gleanings* (see footnote on p. 22).

Of this general fact there is abundant evidence. The report that one of the “serious clergy” was appointed to a parish was in many cases the signal for an outcry almost as great as if a pestilence were coming—so a clerical biography of the period (*Memoir of Rev. C. Jerram*) states. Cambridge colleges declined to receive “Methodists” as undergraduates, John Venn himself having been refused by Trinity on the sole ground that he was Henry Venn’s son; Hugh Pearson, afterwards Dean of Salisbury, narrowly escaped rejection by his ordaining bishop because he spoke favourably of Wilberforce’s *Practical View of Christianity*; when the Bishop of London’s carriage conveyed a visitor from his house to John Venn’s at Clapham, it must put her down at a neighbouring public-house to avoid stopping at the rectory gate; and when Henry Martyn visited his native Cornwall after his ordination, he, Senior Wrangler and Fellow of his College, was not allowed to preach in any church in the county except his brother-in-law’s. The Bampton Lectures were twice (1803 and 1813) directed against Evangelicalism, the latter course being by R. Mant, afterwards a bishop in Ireland, and joint author of the “orthodox” Commentary on the Bible. The Bishops were continually fulminating against the “serious clergy.” One wrote, “Church-Methodism is the disease of my diocese; it shall be the business of my life to extirpate it.” Another, when an Evangelical clergyman invited some of his brethren to

what would now be called a Quiet Day or Retreat, forbade the use of the church, and there being no parish-rooms or parochial schools in those days, the party had to meet in the kitchen of the village inn. Bishop Tomline of Lincoln told Pitt, the Prime Minister, that the "serious clergy" were "great rascals," and of doubtful moral character; and Wilberforce writes that he could not disabuse Pitt's mind of the idea.

Such was the state of the Church and its parties at the opening of the nineteenth century. But from that time a new upward movement was commencing. It was not only in the Evangelical section. That section led the way in many improvements, but not in all. We shall see that the whole Church was beginning to wake up. Church-building, Education, Philanthropy, Missions, were gradually dealt with, and worked with growing energy. New Church legislation, generally good in character, began with the very first year of the century. But the outlook, national, ecclesiastical, and spiritual, was depressing; and there was no prophet to bid the few faithful servants of the Lord look up and lift up their heads. The wildest dreamer could not have foreseen the magnificent progress of the Church which, in the gracious purpose of God, was destined to mark the next hundred years.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH WAKING UP

1801-1830

Bishops and Evangelicals—Church-building—Sunday and Day Schools—Public Schools and Universities—Religious Societies—S.P.C.K. and Bible Society—Foreign Missions: S.P.G. and C.M.S.—Opening of India—S.P.G. Revival—State of the Country.

THE second and third decades of the century were distinctly a time of Church progress, and that in many directions. There was a considerable amount of ecclesiastical legislation, which began even in the first decade; and this will be noticed in the next chapter. But the newly awakened vigour of Churchmen was much more conspicuous in voluntary effort, with which this chapter deals.

It cannot be truly said that the Bishops then led the van in

the Church's new activity, as in after years they assuredly did. Good Bishop Porteus was dead. Bishops Horsley and Van Mildert were distinctly the ablest men on the Bench, but their idea of episcopal service was that of their period, and not that of the better time coming. In one respect, however, most of the Bishops were wide awake, and that was in defending their dioceses against Evangelical intrusion—of which some illustrations have already been given. Even when, at last, the first Evangelical Bishop, Dudley Ryder, was appointed to Gloucester (1815), the Archbishop of Canterbury (Manners-Sutton) protested to the Premier, and actually delayed the consecration; and the Dean and Chapter attempted to keep him out of the cathedral pulpit. However, by patience and gentleness, he outlived his unpopularity, and eventually won general respect, first at Gloucester and afterwards at Lichfield.

Church-building, as soon as the great war was put an end to at Waterloo, began in good earnest, largely through the influence and energy of the "Clapton" men, particularly Joshua Watson and Archdeacon Daubeney. In the first seven years of the century only twenty-four churches were built in all England and Wales. Between 1807 and 1820, seventy-two more were erected. But in the third decade, 1821-30, there were 308. Parliament made a grant-in-aid of £1,000,000 in 1818, and another half-million in 1824. The Incorporated Church Building Society was founded in the former year, and in the next fourteen years raised an equal amount. It cannot be said that the money was always well spent. Marylebone and St. Pancras churches are said to have cost £150,000 between them, and they remain to-day as monuments of the perverted taste of the period, which could only imitate Athenian temples. The Evangelicals, with little influence in ecclesiastical circles, and mostly banished to proprietary chapels, did their share. Dikes of Hull, for instance, raised many thousands of pounds for churches there; and Daniel Wilson, on becoming Vicar of Islington in 1824, at once set about building three in his great parish, to seat 2000 persons each.

Church Services, too, were beginning to improve; and in this respect also the Evangelicals—or at least such of them as had parish churches—were well in the front. Wilson at Islington, succeeding one of the old "high and dry" or "low and slow" men, at once began three full services on Sundays, prayers on saints' days and other weekdays, and Holy Communion at 8 A.M.

as well as at midday—a great advance on the average custom. It was they, too, who introduced hymns, against which High Church Bishops like Marsh of Peterborough inveighed in their charges. Reginald Heber asked in vain for the sanction of the Primate (Archbishop Manners-Sutton) and the Bishop of London (Howley) for the publication of his hymnal ; and the average Churchman had to be content with Tate and Brady's versified Psalter, until some ventured to use the "Mitre" hymn-book, a very dry collection brought out to satisfy the clergy who could not condescend to use those of E. Bickersteth and other Evangelicals. But the day of reform in cathedrals was not yet ; St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey had to wait many years for revival, and meanwhile the only great occasions in their history were grand funerals, or, at the Abbey, coronations.

Education was also beginning to receive more of the Church's attention. There were already many Charity Schools, which had been fostered by the S.P.C.K. Sunday-schools were already recognised as an essential agency in any well-ordered parish, but they were very different from the Sunday-schools of the present day. They provided the only elementary education which could be had in many places, and they answered more nearly to the parochial day-schools of after years, being taught by paid teachers and kept open for four or five hours. But in 1811 the National Society was founded, mainly through the energy of the "Clapton" men, Joshua Watson and H. H. Norris, warmly supported by Archbishop Manners-Sutton ; and a dozen years later 3000 schools had been opened with its aid, which were educating nearly half a million of children. Gradually, therefore, these schools relieved the Sunday-schools of the secular teaching, and left the latter free for their proper work. The National Society grew in part out of a great controversy. Dr. Bell, an army chaplain at Madras, and Joseph Lancaster, a young Quaker in Southwark, almost simultaneously hit upon what we know as the pupil-teacher system, the adoption of which wrought a great improvement in the methods of instruction. There was a lively dispute as to which was first in the field ; but much more important was another difference between them. Lancaster advocated undenominational Christian teaching, and the British and Foreign School Society was established to build and conduct schools on that basis ; while Bell and his patrons insisted on the Church Catechism as the basis of religious instruction. Moreover, Lancaster arranged to register scholars by the denomination of their parents, and send

them on Sunday to the different churches and chapels accordingly; while the Bishops and the National Society required all the children to go to the parish church. It took nearly another century before High Churchmen became the advocates of parental rights. "As much ink," it was said, "was shed in the wars between Bell and Lancaster as blood was shed in the wars between York and Lancaster." The National Society, however, went bravely on its way, and did a great work by establishing Training Colleges. There were as yet no Government educational grants.

Higher Education was somewhat later in sharing in the reform movement. Arnold's wonderful work at Rugby, which influenced many other of the great public schools, did not begin till 1828. Rough as school life had been, and narrow as was the curriculum, it must be acknowledged that great men were trained at Eton and Winchester and Westminster and the other old foundations; but religious teaching was conspicuous by its absence. At Eton, for instance, when Gladstone was there, it was "almost dead." Meanwhile, Oxford and Cambridge were improving, both educationally and religiously; and in 1832 Durham University was founded, in direct connection with the cathedral. The purely secular character of the new London University, and of its ally, the Useful Knowledge Society, alarmed Churchmen, and King's College was established in 1829 with the direct purpose of giving a Christian education to students seeking London degrees. Lampeter College had already been started for the training of the Welsh clergy. Oxford, in the third decade, had remarkable men among its leaders, particularly at Oriel—Copleston and Whately and Arnold and the men called Noetics; while at Cambridge there were Wordsworth (Master of Trinity) and Hugh James Rose and Thirlwall and the brothers Hare, and also the strong Christian influence of the Evangelicals, Isaac Milner (President of Queen's) and Simeon and Farish and Scholefield and many others, to which there was no parallel at Oxford.

Religious Societies were becoming numerous. Except the Church Building Society and the National Society, most of them were founded by the Evangelicals. But the "Clapton" or "Orthodox" men did much to extend the work and influence of the oldest of all these institutions, the S.P.C.K., which at the beginning of the century was in a very dormant state. In 1813 district committees began to be formed in all parts of the country, which very quickly doubled and trebled its income. Large

numbers of new members were incorporated, each one having to be recommended by existing members as "well affected to His Majesty King George and his Government, and to the United Church of England and Ireland as by Law established," and as "of a sober and religious life and conversation, and of an humble, peaceable, and charitable disposition." Was this aimed at Evangelicals because of their "enthusiasm"? Anyway, the fact is that many who applied for membership were blackballed, including even Charles Simeon after nearly forty years' labours at Cambridge. Possibly it was one result of a great controversy that had arisen about some tracts on baptism which were objected to by such of the "Low" Churchmen as were members. However, although the objectors were beaten, they remained loyal to the Society, and fostered its influence in their own parishes.¹

Two of the new agencies founded by the Evangelicals were the Religious Tract Society, in 1799, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1804. The former was designed for the production and circulation of popular religious literature on such lines as could be accepted by Evangelical Churchmen in common with orthodox Dissenters, and did represent a definite theological position. The Bible Society was quite different, being solely for the printing and selling of the Scriptures, which all Christians accepted. Both Societies, however, were alike in one feature of their constitutions, *viz.* that Churchmen and Nonconformists were to be equally represented on the Committee. The Bible Society sprang at once into a great position. Royal Dukes, Cabinet Ministers, and several Bishops supported it. At the twelfth anniversary, in 1816, the speakers included the Duke of Kent (Queen Victoria's father), Lords Gambier and Teignmouth, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Vansittart), and four Bishops; while the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, spoke at several provincial meetings. Indeed this very brilliancy was a cause of complaint among

¹ In an *Essay on the Evangelical Movement*, by Mr. Gladstone, which originally appeared in a Review, and is reprinted in vol. vii. of his *Gleanings*, a curious account is given of one of the S.P.C.K. tracts of the period, written by Sikes of Guilsborough, one of the leaders of the "Clapton" party. In it a vicar reproves a labourer for going to a neighbouring Evangelical church, and denounces the "serious" clergy as "rebellious preachers" like Korah, and as "playing the hypocrite in a most shocking manner." He says they call themselves "miserable sinners," and adds, "I certainly have no reason to disbelieve them." Evidently, he thinks, they must be either evil-livers or liars. (Had Mr. Sikes forgotten his *Litany*?) This tract is also noticed by Mr. Balleine in his *History of the Evangelical Party*.

stiffer Churchmen. Bishop Randolph of London was "disgusted at the pomp and parade of the Society," contrasting it with the "simplicity and modesty" of the S.P.C.K. More important was the serious opposition of the "High" or "Orthodox" party, Bishop Marsh and Archdeacon Daubeney objecting strongly to the Bible being circulated without the Prayer Book, and to the notion that men might draw their own religion from it without the guidance of the "authoritatively-commissioned priests" of the "one only Apostolical Church established in this country." They little thought that the day would come when the strictest Church Missions abroad would be dependent on the Bible Society for their translations of the Scriptures. But the controversy benefited the Church by leading it to throw more energy into the S.P.C.K., as already stated.

Another institution founded jointly by Evangelical Churchmen and Nonconformists was the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (1808), which also had royal support. But after some years of difficulty, the Nonconformists retired, in a very kindly spirit, and it became a purely Church Society, and has remained so ever since. Charles Simeon was specially devoted to it. At a meeting in its behalf he said it was "the most blessed of all." E. Bickersteth, who was present, wrote to him on a slip of paper, "Six millions of Jews, six hundred millions of Gentiles—which is the more important?" Simeon replied, "But if the conversion of the six is to be life from the dead to the six hundred, what then?"

Foreign Missions are often mentioned as the special "note" of the early years of the century. There could not be a greater mistake. The "wave of missionary enthusiasm," which we are sometimes told "swept over" English Christendom at the time, had no existence. The only possible excuse for such a notion is that a good deal of popular interest was shown in the sailing of the *Duff* for the South Seas (1797) with a party sent by the London Missionary Society. A really great event, like the sending of Carey the Baptist to India (1793), was only seen to be great long afterwards; at the time, the "consecrated cobbler" was only sneered at. In neither of these events was the Church of England concerned, except that some of the Evangelicals supported the L.M.S. and watched the Polynesian enterprise with prayerful sympathy. When the new century opened, the Church had one recognised Missionary Society, the S.P.G., just a century old. It had done much for the Colonies, especially for those in

America which had become the United States ; also for Canada and the West Indies. But in 1801 it was almost at the nadir of its fortunes, its voluntary income being under £600 a year. The principal Mission to the Heathen was the work of the S.P.C.K. in South India ; but the missionaries were German Lutherans.

But the idea that this was a great missionary era is based upon the fact that the Church Missionary Society—or rather the Society for Missions in Africa and the East, its original name—had just been founded (1799). The glamour, however, is only reflected back from its great position in after years. The Society, as is well known, represented the missionary ardour of some (not all) of the few “serious” or Evangelical clergy and laity. Many of them sympathised with the London Missionary Society, but they felt that the Church should have her own Missions, and although some of them supported the S.P.G., they had no chance of exercising any influence in its councils. The new organisation started with every possible discouragement. No Bishop joined it ; and no missionaries could be found. The one suitable candidate who offered, and would have been joyfully accepted, Henry Martyn, went to India as an East India Company’s chaplain, because of the difficulties attaching to a professed missionary seeking to work there ; and the Society had at first to be content, like the S.P.C.K., with German Lutherans, by whose agency the C.M.S. Mission was started in West Africa. The best illustration of the supposed “enthusiasm” is supplied by the bare fact that when the Society was ten years old it had sent out exactly five missionaries, all Germans, of whom one was dead, one had been dismissed, and three were still at work.

The men who nursed the infant Society through this period deserve mention : John Venn, the first chairman ; Thomas Scott, the first Secretary ; Josiah Pratt, the second Secretary, to whose energy and wisdom the progress for a quarter of a century was mainly due ; Charles Simeon, the original inspirer, though he could do little at Cambridge ; London clergymen like Goode and Basil Woodd ; and the laymen mentioned in the preceding chapter, Thornton, Grant, Stephen, Macaulay.

But there was real enthusiasm in two collateral enterprises. First, the Abolition of the Slave Trade. In 1807 Wilberforce’s twenty years’ painful struggle was crowned with success. Secondly, in 1813, after another (and partly identical) twenty years, he was again victorious in getting what were called the “pious clauses” included in the East India Company’s renewed

charter ; which secured the opening of India to missionary effort, and established the bishopric of Calcutta.

The year 1818 was memorable for the renewal of vigorous life in the S.P.G. It originated, curiously enough, in the attempt of the Archdeacon of Bath to stop a C.M.S. meeting on St. Andrew's Day, 1817 ; which led to a hot controversy in the newspapers, and roused the Bishops to meet and consult about the relatively dormant position of the older Society. The result was the issue of a Royal Letter calling for collections on its behalf in all churches, which produced £45,000 ; this being materially helped by an anonymous book that appeared, entitled *Propaganda*, which gave the clergy information about the S.P.G. for their sermons, and of which the author was Josiah Pratt, the C.M.S. Secretary. From this time the Society rapidly advanced. It took over from the S.P.C.K. the latter's South India Mission ; it began important work in North India ; and it greatly extended its work in Canada and the West Indies, and presently did much also for Australia and South Africa. Fourteen years after the effort of 1818, the S.P.G. had multiplied its subscribers by thirty-seven, its income by seventeen, its clergy and laity working abroad by four, as compared with the figures when the century opened.

In the meanwhile the C.M.S. also advanced, extending its work to New Zealand, to Rupert's Land, to Turkey and Egypt, to Ceylon, and to many parts of India ; its staff and its income rising year by year, and its Missionary College at Islington being hopefully started in 1825. But there was still great prejudice against Foreign Missions. Bishop Horsley had said in the House of Lords, on the India Question, "There is no obligation upon us as Christians to attempt the conversion of the natives of India, even were it possible to do so, which I deny. The command of our Saviour to His apostles does not apply to us" ; and many not less important people thought the same still. "Such plans," wrote Knox, the Irish High Churchman, "tend to make religion appear a business of bustle, and to have something of a revolutionary character. Over-activity is the grand malady of the time."

Politically and socially, too, the period was unfavourable for Christian enterprises. Waterloo, indeed, introduced a peace which lasted forty years ; and Bishop Ryder, in his C.M.S. anniversary sermon (preached in 1814, when Napoleon was sent to Elba), thanked God for our deliverance from "the Man of Violence" (see the margin of Ps. xviii. 48). But the new wealth

created by the use of machinery was enriching the few and leaving the many impoverished; the farmers were prospering under "Protection," with wheat at £5 per quarter, but the poor were starving; pauperism was so serious that at one time every third person in Birmingham was a pauper; and, says J. R. Green, "with the increase of poverty followed its inevitable result, the increase of crime." As for the upper classes, it is sufficient to remember that from Waterloo almost to the days of the Reform Bill the sovereign of society was George the Fourth, first as Regent and then as King.

Nevertheless, the Church was awake now, and although it has never at any time been so unpopular, as we shall see in the next chapter, it "increased the more in strength," like the converted Saul of Tarsus, and confounded its enemies by the preaching of Christ.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

1801-1843

State Help—Church Legislation—Test and Corporation Acts—Catholic Emancipation—Unpopularity of the Church—The Bishops and the Reform Bill—Irish Church Reform—Ecclesiastical Commission—Cathedral Revenues—First Education Grant.

DURING the eighteenth century the State did almost nothing for the Church. Rather was its action, such as it was, a minus quantity, for the Crown mostly appointed the Bishops simply on political grounds, and without any consideration for spiritual needs. It was Walpole's policy to "let well alone," only what he "let alone" was anything but "well."

But the first forty years of the nineteenth century were quite different. Church legislation occupied an appreciable portion of the time and attention of Parliament. The Church had not yet learned the lesson of later years, that Establishment need not prevent a good deal being done by voluntary action. Indeed, as Overton remarks, "there was a foolish sort of feeling that it was beneath the dignity of an Establishment to work through voluntary effort—that was what the Methodists did." Our preceding chapter, indeed, presented what might seem abundant evidence

to the contrary ; yet some of the good movements there noticed required at least the co-operation of the State. To get India opened to the Gospel required the interposition of the Legislature ; a Bishop for Calcutta could only be obtained by Act of Parliament ; the S.P.G. had to look to a Royal Letter for a large part of its funds ; and church-building owed its impetus to the million granted by the House of Commons. Dr. Stoughton mentions, as an illustration of parliamentary control, that when a new spire was wanted for the parish church of Great Yarmouth, in 1807, a special Act had to be obtained. Mr. George Russell, in his *Household of Faith*, gives the year of the Million Grant, 1818, as "the high-water mark of Establishment" ; and he adds that this grant, with its supplement in 1824, was "the last great Act of Establishment." Indeed, these votes, together with £100,000 a year, made for eleven years to supplement Queen Anne's Bounty for the augmentation of livings, constitute the whole of the State contribution to Church funds since the days of Queen Anne.

The minor legislation of the period may be briefly noticed, to illustrate the reviving interest of Parliament in Church affairs. Acts were passed in 1801, disqualifying clergymen from sitting in the House of Commons ; in 1802, restraining them from farming, enforcing their residence in their parishes, encouraging them to build churches ; in 1803, improving the position of curates ; in 1804, fixing the ages of twenty-three and twenty-four for the ordination of deacons and priests respectively ; in 1808, dealing further with non-residence ; in 1809, raising curates' stipends, and making the grant to Q.A.B. above referred to ; in 1812, relieving Dissenters from certain invidious oaths and declarations, a measure as important in the Church's interest as in theirs ; in 1813, further increasing curates' stipends ; in 1814, suspending penalties for non-residence ; in 1816, consolidating various Acts affecting the clergy. The inadequacy of clerical incomes was felt to be a real scandal. In 1803 there were a thousand "livings" not exceeding £85 a year, a large proportion being under £30, while many holders of "good livings," or having private means, lived in comfort elsewhere and paid these sums to curates who did the work. Several of the Acts were due to the wisdom and energy of Perceval, both while he was Chancellor of the Exchequer and after he succeeded to the Premiership. A true friend of the Church was removed when he was assassinated in the lobby in 1811, though Sydney Smith sneered at the "odious vigour" of

“the little Methodist”; but Lord Liverpool, who followed, was eager to carry out projects which Perceval had conceived.

All this time, agitations, sometimes noisy and sometimes lulled, were going on in favour of two much more important measures, to relieve Dissenters and Roman Catholics respectively. The one was to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, and the other to admit Romanists to Parliament and to other posts. Under the Acts just named, passed in the reign of Charles II., partaking of the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England was required of every person seeking municipal or other civil office—not only mayors and aldermen, but even excisemen and the like. Not a few of the more earnest Church people, both of the “Clapham” and the “Clapton” sections, felt keenly the profanation of the Sacrament as a test for such offices; but the majority regarded the rule as necessary for the safety of the Establishment. Lord North, in the earlier years of George III.’s reign, had called it “the corner-stone of the constitution.” This “corner-stone,” however, was very shaky. Year by year Bills of Indemnity were passed to obviate the practical effect of the Acts; otherwise they would surely have been repealed earlier. But their retention on the Statute Book when they had lost their power was absurd; and at length, in 1828, the long-desired reform was accomplished. Lord Eldon, the typical Tory of the old school, denounced it as “most shameful,” “bad, mischievous, revolutionary”; but all the Bishops present in the House of Lords at the time voted for it, and it passed without difficulty.

Roman Catholic Emancipation was a more difficult matter. It had long been regarded by many as an act of simple justice. Pitt favoured it, and would have brought it forward in Parliament, but George III. declared that to give his assent to it would be to break his coronation oath. In subsequent Cabinets it remained an open question, as both Whigs and Tories were divided amongst themselves concerning it. At length, in 1825, it was carried in the Commons, but rejected in the Lords. The controversy now became urgent, and separated chief friends. High Churchmen were mostly against the Bill, Dr. Philpotts (afterwards the redoubtable “Harry of Exeter”) being conspicuous for his vehement and caustic writing and speaking, and John Keble leading his Oxford contemporaries in opposition. Broad Churchmen were in favour of the Bill, Dr. Arnold urging the concession of the Roman claims as a “Christian duty,” and Sydney Smith,

with his mordant wit, suggesting that the "Clapham Sect" or "Church-Methodists" were more dangerous to the Church than the Catholics, denouncing the "patent Christianity manufacturing at Clapham," and advising the Bishops to "keep their eyes upon that holy village." But the "Clapham" men were themselves divided. The Rector himself, Dr. Dealtry, and Daniel Wilson of Islington, and Charles Simeon (with hesitation), and of the laity Wilberforce and Fowell Buxton and the Grants and the young Lord Ashley, all supported the measure, although the majority were against it. At length the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, who had been its chief opponents, came into office, and thereupon suddenly turned round and brought in the Bill themselves; and it was carried in both Houses, most of the Bishops voting against it. But it cost Peel his seat at Oxford, the University turning him out and electing Sir Robert Inglis in his place.

It must be admitted that all these changes were causes of serious alarm to the majority of Churchmen; and their fears were increased by the unpopularity of the Church among the masses of the people, which, strangely enough, seemed to grow *pari passu* with its growing efficiency. Indeed the State and the Church were becoming alienated from each other, and the belief began to prevail that the days of Establishment were numbered. Some men of specially Erastian opinions were willing to sacrifice a good deal to save the State connection. Dr. Arnold, for instance, proposed to throw open the churches to the various Nonconformist communions, to use their different forms of worship at different hours. There were then no Colonial Churches, and no independent Irish Church, to show that however valuable national Establishment may be, a Church can if need be exist without it; and when Southey wrote that "no human means could avert the threatened overthrow," it seemed to many as if the end of all things was at hand. But the third decade of the century, under George IV., was a period of widespread disloyalty, not only to the king, which was scarcely to be wondered at, and not only to the Church, but to all old and settled institutions. The "Black Book," a shocking production which had a large circulation, attacked the Crown, the aristocracy, the Church, the social order generally, taking advantage of admitted occasional scandals to blacken the reputation of everything and everybody with any title to respectability. The Church was "that ulcerous concretion," "that foul and unformed mass of rapacity, intolerance,

absurdity, and wickedness," and the clergy were "furious demons, rapacious and insolent." We who have lived to see Royalty enthusiastically popular, the peers respected even by those who would clip the wings of the Upper House, the Bishops admired and loved by multitudes even of non-Churchmen, can scarcely conceive the violence of those days. Nor was it only the masses that hated the Church. Joseph Hume in the House of Commons denounced "those foolish ordinations," and warned "young gentlemen" against "investing time and money in a condemned building"; though he graciously allowed that a "corporation" "set up by Parliament 300 years ago and therefore older than the East India Company" (!) need not be "abolished" without some "compensation" to "those who have wasted life in its service."

The climax of the Church's unpopularity came when the votes of the Bishops defeated the Reform Bill in that same year, 1831. It literally was so, for the majority in the Lords against the Bill was forty-one, and the number of Bishops voting against it twenty-one, so that if they had voted for it it would have been carried by a majority of one. The *Times* said: "The Bishops have crushed our liberties. But for them we should have had a free Parliament, and the downfall of an oppressive oligarchy. How shall we forgive the clergy?" The Whig Premier, Earl Grey, thereupon told the Bishops to "set their houses in order," though he did not finish the quotation and say that they should "die and not live." But it was not the fault of the populace that this result did not ensue. The Bishop of Lichfield was nearly killed in Fleet Street; the Bishop of London dared not go out to preach; the Primate himself was mobbed at Canterbury; the Bishop of Bristol's palace was burned to the ground by rioters. After this it is a small thing to say that on the 5th of November figures in episcopal robes were substituted for Guy Fawkes and cast into bonfires amid jeering crowds.

But the Whigs, with all their hostility to the Bishops, did not wish for disestablishment. On the contrary, their real feeling was similar to that incisively expressed by a peer of the party forty years later, who said to Mr. George Russell, "As long as we have an Established Church we can kick the parsons; but once disestablish it, and, begad! they will kick us." Lord Grey's Ministry, when the Reform Bill had at last got through and a new Parliament had assembled, threw itself, among other things, into Church Reform. First of all, on the report of two commissions previously appointed, the system of ecclesiastical juris-

dition was altered, the old supreme powers of the High Court of Delegates being transferred to the Privy Council. Then the abolition of Church rates was proposed, but this fell through, and was not effected until more than thirty years later. But the principal measures affected the Irish branch of what was then the United Church. The difficulty of collecting the tithes in Ireland was serious, owing partly to the poverty of the people, and partly to their natural reluctance as Romanists to pay the Protestant clergy. Sydney Smith expressed it thus: "After, with considerable effort, the few shillings needed for the support of the Catholic priest had been paid, a tenth of the potatoes in the garden had to be set apart for a persuasion which the Irish regarded as the great cause of their political inferiority and manifold wretchedness." Many of the clergy therefore were starving, and Parliament voted a million of money for their relief. Then a Bill was brought in to abolish what was called "Church cess," which was specially obnoxious; and ten bishoprics were suppressed, that their revenues might be applied in lieu of it. This measure was loudly condemned by many English Churchmen as spoliation and robbery. "Our turn," they said, "will come next." But Bishop Blomfield and others supported it, in the hope, by sacrificing part, of saving the rest.

Another important group of measures originated from the Reports of a Commission appointed in 1831 "to inquire into the revenues and patronage of the Established Church." In this Commission Bishop Blomfield was prominent, and the stiffer and more conservative Churchmen were not pleased with his reforming zeal. Sydney Smith, too, who was neither stiff nor conservative, wrote: "He will become the Commission, and when the Church of England is mentioned, it will only mean Charles James of London, who . . . will become the Church of England here upon earth." But Blomfield had the wisdom to see that reform was both desirable and inevitable, and that if he could guide it the Whig lawyers would be less likely to injure the Church. The Commission was continued by Peel's Ministry, and by Melbourne's, and its reports resulted in a great deal of useful legislation. The boundaries of dioceses were altered; the see of Ripon was founded (Manchester following a few years later); the episcopal incomes were reduced; the commutation of tithes was arranged; fresh rules against pluralism and non-residence were adopted; cathedral revenues and the emoluments of canonries were adjusted; above all, the permanent Ecclesiastical

Commission was established in 1836 to hold Church property and deal with Church finance. There was great opposition on the part of the clergy to most of these reforms; but Blomfield stood to his guns. For instance, he compared the wealth of St. Paul's Cathedral with the destitution of Bethnal Green. "I traverse the streets of this crowded city," he said, "with deep and solemn thoughts of the spiritual condition of its inhabitants. I pass the magnificent church which crowns the metropolis, and is consecrated to the noblest of objects—the glory of God,—and I ask myself in what degree it answers that object. . . . I proceed a mile or two to the north-east, and find myself in the midst of an immense population in the most wretched state of neglect." St. Paul's, of course, then displayed none of the activity we see now, and exercised none of the influence which has since made it a powerful witness for Christianity; still, the alienation of the cathedral funds enabled the Bishop to do much church-building in the East End.

Three other measures of the period remain to be noticed. The year 1833 saw the commencement on a very small scale of what has developed into a gigantic system. In that year Parliament voted £20,000 to assist the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society in building elementary schools; and in 1839 the Education Committee of the Privy Council was formed. This led to much searching of heart among the clergy, who strongly objected to the conditions of the grants, and to Government inspection, and insisted that all children attending parochial schools, whatever their parents' denomination, should receive definite Church teaching. Thus began a controversy that still awaits settlement.

The second measure was the Church Discipline Act of 1840; and the third, the New Parishes Act of 1843, under which what have been called "Peel districts" (from Sir R. Peel, to whom the Act is due) were cut off from the old parishes. Many minor Acts need not here be referred to.

Thus, in the course of a few years, as Canon G. G. Perry observes in his *Student's History*, "the whole status of the Church of England had been revolutionised." Great was the alarm, the indignation, of most of the clergy. Happily the obstructives were outvoted; and it is impossible now to dispute the truth of Dr. Stoughton's words, that "the reforms strengthened the Church's corner-stones, added buttresses to its walls, and gave it a new lease of continuance."

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT

1827-1851

The word Protestant—The Oxford Movement—Keble, Rose, Newman, Pusey, Froude—The Tracts—Tract 90—Newman's Secession—Plymouth Brethren—Bishop Wilberforce and Dr. Hook—The Evangelicals—*Record* and *Guardian*—Bishop Blomfield's Charge—Bishop Hampden—Gorham Case—Secession of Manning, &c.—Papal Aggression.

THROUGHOUT the first half of the nineteenth century, the word Protestant was habitually used by all parties in the Church as connoting its most characteristic feature. It had come down from the great struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and suggested memories of the Marian martyrs, Queen Elizabeth and the Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Trial of the Seven Bishops. It was not regarded as a party word at all. To give one instance: Archdeacon Daubeney, one of the leaders of the "Clapton" or definitely High Church School, wrote an anti-Roman treatise in 1824, and called it *The Protestants' Companion*. The Evangelicals were disliked for their "enthusiasm" (see page 14) and for their supposed Calvinism, but not for their Protestantism. But now the complementary word Catholic was coming into use. Not that any section of Churchmen had ever questioned the continuity of the Anglican Church from earliest times; but it was not prominent in their thoughts. It was the special work of the Oxford Movement to emphasise that article of the Creed, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church."

The immediate occasion of the Oxford Movement was the political outlook in the early 'thirties. The Reform Act, the Premier's hint to the Bishops to "set their houses in order," and particularly the Government proposals touching the Church in Ireland—to which our last chapter referred,—led to John Keble preaching his famous sermon on "National Apostacy" in St. Mary's, Oxford, on 14th July 1833, from which day John Henry Newman always dated the Movement; and ten days later occurred the meeting at Hugh James Rose's rectory at Hadleigh, which projected an Association of Friends of the Church.

But the attacks on the Established Church, though the occasion, were not the cause of the Movement. The cause lay far deeper. Romanticism was rising up against utilitarianism. Sir Walter Scott's works had awakened a sympathetic interest in what was mediæval and antiquarian; Coleridge and the Lake Poets were exercising an influence on thoughtful minds which, so far as it affected religion, prepared them for the new teaching that was coming; and Keble's *Christian Year* (1827), in addition to its poetic merits, was revealing to a wide circle the possibility of a quiet and reverent devoutness independent of Evangelical "enthusiasm." Moreover, that "enthusiasm" was not what it had been. Evangelicalism had lost something of the martyr-spirit. Its leaders were not less spiritual, but its rank and file, being more numerous, were more "comfortable," and did not attract the ardent and romantic minds of brilliant young Oxford men bursting with new and half-formed ideas about the grandeur of an ancient historic Church, the beauty of submission to authority, and the contemptible character of anything that could be branded as "popular religionism." Their ideal of life was really high. No mere theological party cry bound them together. A deep moral conviction and purpose inspired them. The Catholic Church in England was in danger: let them live for the Church, or die in its defence!

The way was prepared more definitely by the lectures of Dr. Lloyd, Regius Professor of Divinity, and Bishop of Oxford from 1827, on the Prayer Book, and by those of Bishop Kaye at Cambridge on the Early Fathers; also by the influence and writings of Hugh James Rose, another Cambridge man, to whom Burdon in his *Twelve Good Men* gave the title of "Restorer of the Old Paths," and of whom Newman afterwards wrote that he, "when hearts were failing, bade us stir up the gift that was in us, and betake ourselves to our true Mother," the Church. Newman himself had been a decided Evangelical. Of his conversion to God while at school, his *Apologia* says, "I am still more certain than that I have hands and feet." In 1830 he was local secretary of the C.M.S. at Oxford, and he actually contributed both money and articles to the *Record*. He was influenced, as others were, by Lloyd's lectures; but, curiously enough, he got the idea of the Church as a Divine institution independent of the State from Whately, and the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration from J. B. Sumner, afterwards the Evangelical Archbishop of Canterbury. Then Hurrell Froude

led him on gradually to dislike of the Reformation, devotion to our Lord's Mother, and belief in the Real Presence ; and year by year he advanced further on the road to Rome. In fact, as Overton observes, he never was a convinced Anglican Churchman, even of a "High" type, as Keble and Pusey were. From the time he broke away from Evangelicalism he was dissatisfied with the Church of England, while they were content with it—not, of course, with its condition, but with its status as a true branch of the Church Catholic.

It is remarkable that the Movement at first was definitely anti-Roman. We saw in the last chapter that Keble headed the opposition in the University to Roman Catholic Emancipation ; and the admission of "Papists" to Parliament was one of the measures that roused the new party to the defence of the Church. They claimed, too, that the study of Church History, in which Pusey's great learning helped them, had not only given them fresh devotion to the Church Catholic, but had strengthened their antagonism to Rome. "They" [the Romans], said Dr. Routh, the venerable President of Magdalen, who knew patristic literature better than anybody else, and who sympathised with the Movement while not actually joining it, "have no support in the Fathers, sir ; in the first three centuries not one word." But the change, in the younger men at least, was rapid. Ward, for example, avowed that he loved the Roman Church, but remained in the English Church on purpose to influence others. Hurrell Froude, also, was very Romish, and it was the publication of his *Remains* after his early death that opened many eyes to the dangers of the Movement. Some of the leaders, Rose and Pusey among them, dreaded the Rome-wise tendency ; while the chief representative of Rome in England, Dr. Wiseman, delighted in it, perceiving in the Movement "a daily approach towards our Holy Church."

Most of the famous Tracts, however—whence the name Tractarian,—were intended, certainly the earlier ones, to emphasise the Catholic character of the Church of England, and to attack, not so much Protestantism, as Erastianism. "The Apostolic Succession," said the advertisement of them, "and the Holy Catholic Church, were principles of action in the minds of our predecessors of the seventeenth century, but in proportion as the maintenance of the Church has been secured by law her ministers have been under the temptation of leaning on an arm of flesh, instead of on her own divinely-provided discipline." Hence it

was that the first outcry against them came not from the Evangelicals, but from the Broad or Liberal School. Both the *Record* and the *Christian Observer*, the two Evangelical organs, expressed agreement with the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, that is, of Orders in the Church of England. "There is no historical fact," said the *Observer*, "on which we more confidently rely." But Dr. Arnold wrote vehemently against the new school in the *Edinburgh Review*, in an article entitled "The Oxford Malcontents"; Tait was the leader in opposition at Oxford; and Sydney Smith thought "the pragmatical, perpendicular, Puseyite prigs" worse even than the Clapham "Methodists."

The crisis came with the publication, in 1841, of Tract 90, in which Newman argued that the Thirty-nine Articles could be interpreted as not anti-Roman, his expressed purpose being to prevent secessions to Rome by the consideration that all the principal Roman doctrines could be held by an English Churchman. But the reasoning was too subtle to deceive men; and a tremendous outcry ensued. It is only necessary to quote one utterance, that of the highest Churchman on the Episcopal Bench, Philpotts of Exeter. If he could use such words as these, it may be imagined what others would say:—

"The tone of the Tract as respects our own Church is offensive and indecent; as regards the Reformation and our Reformers, absurd, as well as incongruous and unjust. Its principles of interpreting our Articles I cannot but deem most unsound; the reasoning with which it supports its principles sophistical; the averments on which it founds its reasoning, at variance with recorded facts. . . . It is far the most daring attempt ever yet made by a minister of the Church of England to neutralise the distinctive doctrines of our Church, and to make us symbolise with Rome."

This is not the place for the detailed history of that difficult time. It can be read in two great books, Newman's own *Apologia* and Dean Church's *Oxford Movement*—both of pathetic interest, the former because it records the loss to the Church of England of one of her most brilliant sons, the latter because published after its author's death. Overton's *Anglican Revival* also gives an interesting account; and of course there are many biographies, as of Tait, Pusey, &c., that throw much light on the period. Suffice it here to say that Newman was received into the Church of Rome, privately, by Father Dominic, on October 10, 1845, and formally, by Dr. Wiseman, on November 1. He was both preceded and followed by a host of seceders, some two hundred of them clergy. It would be a mistake to suppose that it was the charac-

teristic Roman dogmas, such as purgatory and transubstantiation, that had convinced their minds. What attracted them was the idea that the Papal Communion was the ancient Catholic Church. In her bosom they could rest from the distractions of theological controversy. What did the old Church say?—that was enough.

It is a curious fact that at that same period a remarkable movement at the opposite ecclesiastical pole exercised an attraction strangely similar. Plymouth Brethrenism arose—not at Plymouth, but in Ireland—simultaneously with Tractarianism. Its chief leader, J. N. Darby, was an extreme High Church curate, whom J. H. Newman's brother Francis invited to Oxford. Its other leader, B. W. Newton, was a Fellow of Exeter College. What was the essence of this Movement? Simply that the Church of Christ was neither an invisible and spiritual body, as many Evangelicals taught, nor the aggregate of a score of Protestant denominations, as others taught, but one visible and strictly exclusive organisation. Many earnest members of the Church of England seceded in that direction also. The fascination of the idea of One Church, Holy, Apostolic, Visible, drew them, just as it drew others to Rome. If Hooker's doctrine of both a Visible and an Invisible Church had been more generally taught, with St. Paul's words as a motto, “Not all are Israel which are of Israel,” the Anglican Church might have kept some of its best people.

It must be added that if the Prayer Book had been better taught, and its directions better observed, it could have saved many from both Oxford and Plymouth. People did look into the Prayer Book, and did find, not only rubrics that were neglected, but also a general tone to which they were unaccustomed. Mr. Gladstone, who began life as an Evangelical, and remained one all the time he was at the University, declared afterwards that a study of the Prayer Book had dealt a blow at his old convictions. Mr. George Russell, speaking of his own case forty years later, tells the same story. Not that there is any real antagonism between Evangelical doctrine and the Prayer Book; but great numbers of Evangelicals had not then—and have not now—been taught the Prayer Book properly. If they had been, the Plymouthists at all events would not have shaken their beliefs—in infant baptism, for example.

After Newman's secession, Pusey took the lead of the Tractarian party; and his less impetuous temperament, together with the departure also of fiery spirits like Oakeley and Faber, held the remnant together and kept them quiet. The Movement

from this time took two directions. The extreme men began to indulge in the ritualism which afterwards caused so much trouble; but there was a far more numerous body of able and earnest men who had learned much from Tractarian teaching, and had come to regard the Catholic and Apostolic character of the Anglican Church as more important than its Protestant position or its State connection, though they did not cease to value these in their way. These men were the pioneers of the modern High Churchmen, as distinct from the more advanced section. Two men stand out as the most conspicuous representatives of this school in the middle of the century, Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford and Dr. Hook of Leeds; and it is a significant fact that the consecration of the former occurred in the same month as the formal reception of Newman by the Roman authorities. On All Saints' Day, 1845, the great Tractarian consummated his secession from the Church of England. On St. Andrew's Day, the brilliant future leader of the regular High Church party became a Bishop of the same Church.

Samuel Wilberforce, indeed, had been identified by his parentage, his education, his early friendships, his marriage, with the Evangelicals; and even when he had caught some of the higher ideas about the Church, he continued, for a while, a hearty friend of their enterprises, particularly the C.M.S. Moreover, he was severe on the Tractarians in many ways. So was Dr. Hook, who suffered much at their hands. His really great work as Vicar of Leeds was sadly interfered with by the extreme practices at St. Saviour's, a church built by Dr. Pusey to be a centre of Tractarian influence in Yorkshire. Within five years, nine out of fifteen clergymen whom Pusey had sent to minister there went over to what Hook, writing to Pusey, called "the Popish Church" and "the Mother of Abominations." It is a curious fact that when the vicarage of Leeds was vacant in 1837, Samuel Wilberforce had been the Evangelical candidate, but the trustees had preferred Hook. We shall meet both these great men again by-and-by.

Among other men of mark recognised definitely as High Churchmen, who stood aloof from the extremists, were Christopher Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, whose *Theophilus Anglicanus* became a popular manual of Church principles, and the young statesman, W. E. Gladstone, who, beginning as an Evangelical like S. Wilberforce, became his great friend and ally in various enterprises. Like Wilberforce, and like Hook,

Gladstone was not seriously tempted by Rome. It was to Hook that he wrote, "The temptation towards the Church of Rome has never been before my mind in any other sense than as other plain and flagrant sins have been before it." But he did with his whole soul embrace the doctrine that the Anglican Church is the Catholic Church in England.

What were the Evangelicals doing all this time? They took their share in writing and preaching against the new Oxford doctrines. They formed the Parker Society, which produced a whole series of volumes containing the writings of the Anglican Reformers, showing unmistakably their Protestant character; but while these adorned many library shelves, they were not read like Newman's Tracts. Nor were the reproductions of the Early Christian Fathers by E. Bickersteth, though these at least showed that patristic theology was not all on one side—as Isaac Taylor's works in the same field also showed. Nor was Goode's massive book, *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice*, solid and learned as it was. A more popular and more lasting witness to the Church's Protestantism was the beautiful Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford itself, erected on the spot where Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were burned to death; which both S. Wilberforce and Hook supported. But the Evangelicals were not occupied with controversy only. Their increasing influence throughout the country was resulting in much excellent parochial work, in the development of which they led the way, as Overton repeatedly says. He repudiates the view sometimes expressed that their leaders were inferior to those of earlier years. Charles Simeon was dead (1836), and most of his elder contemporaries; Daniel Wilson had gone to India; but the second D. Wilson, and E. Bickersteth, and H. Venn, and John Cunningham were to the front; Melvill and Dale were the great London preachers; Lord Ashley was already engaged in the philanthropic labours for ever associated with his name as Earl of Shaftesbury; and the remarkable careers of McNeile at Liverpool and Stowell at Manchester were in their early stages.

The Evangelical organs at this time were the *Record*, then issued twice and afterwards three times a week, and fulfilling the functions of an ordinary newspaper, the modern penny daily being unknown; and the *Christian Observer*, a monthly periodical. The former had been started in 1828, and was controlled by Alexander Haldane, whose ability gave it wide influence, but whose vehemence, not to say violence, often vexed even his

stauncest readers. The latter was much older, having been launched by Zachary Macaulay in 1802, and being edited at this time by John Cunningham of Harrow. On the other hand, the High Church party had for a time the *British Critic*, edited by the Oxford men, and the *British Magazine*, edited by H. J. Rose at Cambridge, and from 1841 the *Christian Remembrancer*, a very able quarterly, with Scott of Hoxton as editor and J. B. Mozley as its chief contributor. In 1846 appeared the *Guardian*, a weekly paper which (like the *Record* before and the *Church Times* afterwards) nearly perished in its early struggles, but which presently, with such writers as Mozley and the brothers Haddan and Montague Bernard and F. Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford) and R. W. Church (afterwards Dean of St. Paul's), achieved a great position, which it has never lost.

It is one of the bad effects of a time of controversy that men on one side are often constrained to reject even good things that come from the other side. Thus, while High Churchmen were condemning hymns in public worship because they were methodistical, Evangelicals were opposing many improvements because, indirectly if not directly, they emanated from the Oxford Movement. The Tractarians, appealing to the Prayer Book, called for a strict observance of rubrics which had long been almost universally neglected; and these now became serious bones of contention. Bishop Blomfield's charge to the London clergy in 1842, in particular, raised a real storm. Curiously enough, while at Chester, a few years earlier, he had, as an old-fashioned Churchman of the "high and dry" school, insisted on the black gown being worn in the pulpit, and considered weekday services needless, even the Wednesday evening lecture which had been widely adopted. But now, while condemning the Oxford men, and indeed, with a view to turning aside the edge of their complaints, he enjoined "a full and exact observance of the Church's rubrical directions," daily service, frequent Communions, the Prayer for the Church Militant when there was no Communion, the weekly offertory, baptisms during the service, and the surplice in the pulpit. At first the Evangelicals approved these directions. "Many clergy," said the *Christian Observer*, on the surplice question, "have lamented that custom forces them to retire to the vestry, while the praises of God are being sung, instead of proceeding with their fellow-worshippers in the service without break or hindrance"; and even the *Record* made no objection. But presently the idea got abroad that the changes meant popery;

congregations rose and walked out of church when a surpliceed preacher appeared ; at Exeter there were open surplice riots ; both the Evangelical organs vehemently attacked the weekly offertory as especially savouring of Rome ; and, four years later, in his next charge, Bishop Blomfield actually withdrew his orders. It is a curious fact that Blomfield's son and biographer, writing so late as 1863, says that the surplice, which had been widely adopted, was "now generally abandoned" !

Four other events, important at the time, and one of which proved lastingly so, must be noticed before this chapter closes.

1. The appointment of Dr. Hampden to the Bishopric of Hereford. This only calls for a passing reference because opposition to it combined for the moment most of the Church parties. High Churchmen, however, were especially offended, because it illustrated the subjection of the Church to the State. A Whig Premier could place over a diocese a man who had been censured by the University of Oxford for latitudinarianism, and the Church had no redress. However, Hampden proved at all events a harmless Bishop.

2. The Gorham Case. Bishop Philpotts of Exeter, having examined Mr. Gorham, an Evangelical clergyman, touching his views on the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, declined to institute him to the parish he had been appointed to. Gorham applied to the Dean of the Arches for a monition requiring the Bishop to institute, but the application was refused. He then appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which, under the Act mentioned in the preceding chapter, had now authority in ecclesiastical matters ; and that body, consisting of six lay judges, with the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London as assessors, decided in his favour (March 8, 1850). They expressly disclaimed any "authority or jurisdiction to settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England." All they said was that Gorham's views were "not contrary or repugnant" to the doctrine of the Church as expressed in the Articles and Prayer Book. But the Judgment caused immense excitement. Not only the Tractarians, but the moderate High Churchmen generally, were aghast. The period was one of much political unrest on the Continent, following the revolutions of 1848. This country alone had remained at peace ; and a facetious Frenchman observed that "the only revolution in England was the revolution of *le père Gorham*." Bishop Philpotts publicly repudiated all

communion with Archbishop Sumner, who had expressed his concurrence with the judgment; and protests burst forth from the clergy all over the country, the Evangelicals alone thanking God for what secured their position in the Church—though most of them did not hold the extreme view which Gorham had avowed. The protests were levelled not only against the matter of the Judgment, but against lay lawyers presuming to give one at all.

3. A fresh group of secessions. These were the result of the Hampden and Gorham cases, which together seemed to tear away the last pretence of the Church of England to Catholicity, and to leave her a prey, naked and unashamed, to Erastianism. The most celebrated of the new seceders was H. E. Manning, who, like Newman, had been brought up as an Evangelical—had been “converted” through the influence of Mrs. Mortimer, the authoress of *The Peep of Day* and other delightful books for children—had married, as S. Wilberforce also had done, a daughter of John Sargent, the Evangelical biographer of Henry Martyn—and had, as Archdeacon of Chichester, fiercely attacked both Rome and the Romanisers in the very year of Newman’s secession. But he lived to be Cardinal Manning, Roman Archbishop of Westminster. Several of the others, Maskell, Dodsworth, Allies, Hope Scott, were brilliant men; but the greatest calamity was the secession of three sons of William Wilberforce and brothers of the Bishop of Oxford, together with the Bishop’s two brothers-in-law (Manning one), and his only daughter and her husband. The Bishop’s hatred of Rome, and indignation at being himself called a Romaniser—as he often was, but unjustly—are easily accounted for.

4. The Papal Aggression. The astute Roman bishop, Dr. Wiseman, had watched the Tractarian Movement with eager expectation that his Church would be the gainer, and he perceived the effect of the Hampden and Gorham cases in shaking the allegiance of many to the Anglican Church. The moment had come for a bold forward policy; and under his inspiration the Pope, who had only lately been restored to the Vatican by French bayonets (after the revolution of 1848), issued a Bull, creating an archbishopric of Westminster, and twelve bishoprics, taking titles from Birmingham, Liverpool, Nottingham, and other important English towns. Thereupon the new Archbishop, Wiseman himself, put forth a pastoral, in which he triumphantly welcomed “Catholic England” back to “its orbit in the ecclesi-

astical firmament.”¹ An outburst of indignation arose from the whole country. From the Tweed to the Lizard rang the cry of No Popery. All parties joined except the Tractarians. The Premier, Lord John Russell, fanned the flame, and brought into Parliament the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, forbidding the Roman bishops, under heavy penalties, to use their new territorial titles. It passed by immense majorities—and remained a dead letter. The intruders simply took no notice. They assumed their titles, and no one took the trouble to prosecute them. Gladstone had made himself unpopular by opposing the Bill, but he had put his finger on the mistake that had been made. “It wounds me, as a member of the English Church,” he said, “to see this rival hierarchy spread over the land. With the protests I sympathise. But I protest also against all attempts to meet the spiritual dangers of the Church by temporal legislation of a penal character.” The incident is not one to be proud of; still it had one good effect. It showed that the Church of England had not lost its Protestant character. In fact, some of the secessions above mentioned—Manning’s, for one—took place in the midst of the excitement. The seceders could not see that the Church could be both Protestant and Catholic, and that in reality it was her true Catholicity that inspired her protest against the Papal Aggression.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH ABROAD

1822-1862

Bishops in India—West Indies—Colonial Bishoprics Fund—Jerusalem Bishopric—Bishops Selwyn and Gray—S.P.G. and C.M.S.—The Great Year 1841—Allen Gardiner—Developments in the 'Fifties—Progress in India—African Discoveries—U.M.C.A.—Bishop Mackenzie—Colonial Church Problems—Missionary Bishops.

IN our second chapter we saw that when the Church began to wake up, extension abroad was not forgotten; and we saw how the elder S.P.G. revived and the younger C.M.S. developed its

¹ Gladstone was in France at the time, and he heard a Roman preacher at Roanne say that “the great fortress of heresy was crumbling away, and the people of England were returning in crowds within the one true fold of Christ.” Gladstone in *Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1878 (*Gleanings*, vol. iii.).

work. But the Church was slow to plant out her complete organisation. Two bishoprics across the sea, Nova Scotia and Quebec, had been founded before the century began. Calcutta (1814) was the third, and it included all India, and Ceylon, and Australia ! Bishop Middleton died after an episcopate of eight years, and was succeeded by Reginald Heber, the author of the great missionary hymn, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains." He only lived fifteen months in India, and the next two bishops, James and Turner, eight and eighteen months respectively. Thus within nine years four bishops laid down their lives, victims of the climate and the impossible burden of such a diocese. Then, in 1832, came Daniel Wilson, who lasted twenty-six years, and during the earlier part of this period, in 1833-37, the huge Indian diocese was relieved by the foundation of the sees of Madras (1833), Bombay (1837), and Australia (1836).

Meanwhile, in 1824, the Episcopate was extended to the West Indies, by the formation of the dioceses of Jamaica and Barbados. Our West Indian possessions were then much in the public mind. Fowell Buxton, to whom Wilberforce had committed the Anti-Slavery cause, was moving Parliament to deal with the question ; and the controversy was waxing hot. Not till 1833 was it settled. Then, at last, Buxton triumphed, Earl Grey's Reform Government taking up the case, and carrying the total abolition of slavery in the British dominions. And then the S.P.G. and C.M.S. redoubled their efforts for the education and pastoral care of the Negroes. The latter Society was obliged by financial straitness to withdraw from this field a few years later ; but the S.P.G. has continued its work to this day, with Codrington College as its most important institution.

Two more colonial bishoprics were founded in 1839, Toronto and Newfoundland, making ten in all ; and then, in 1841, came the great epoch of Church extension abroad. The S.P.G., which had always regarded the Colonies as its own field, was rapidly growing in influence and income ; and in 1838 the Colonial Church Society was founded, appealing specially to the Evangelicals, who had little footing in the elder organisation. But neither of them, nor both together, were equal to the emergency that had now arisen—that is, the need for more bishops to supervise the Missions which were developing in all directions, among both the British settlers and traders and the aboriginal Heathen ; and in 1840 Bishop Blomfield, to whose energy the Home Church owed so much, took up the case of the Church abroad, and

proposed the formation of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. It was inaugurated at a great meeting on April 27, 1841. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley) presided; Blomfield stated his case; and it is interesting to notice that among the other speakers were W. E. Gladstone, then a rising young statesman; Manning, afterwards Roman Cardinal; and the President of the C.M.S., the Earl of Chichester.¹ The fund was headed with £10,000 from the S.P.C.K., and £5000 from the S.P.G.; and the C.M.S. promised £600 a year for the New Zealand bishopric, which was the first on the list.

Within the next ten years, sixteen new sees were founded abroad, all but one in the British dominions, viz. three in North America, Fredericton, Montreal, and Rupert's Land; two in the West Indies, Antigua and Guiana; two in Africa, Capetown and Sierra Leone; five in Australasia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Melbourne, Adelaide, Newcastle; two in Asia, Colombo and Victoria (Hong-Kong); and one, Gibraltar, for the English in Southern Europe. Of some of these the need arose from the success, or promise, of Missions to the Heathen, particularly New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Guiana, Rupert's Land, Colombo, and Victoria (for China), the greater part of which was C.M.S. work. The sixteenth bishopric, that of Jerusalem, was different in some ways from the rest. (1) It was promoted by the London Jews' Society and Lord Ashley, with a view to reviving the ancient Hebrew Church and providing a successor to St. James; (2) it was supported by the King of Prussia, through Chevalier Bunsen, as a joint project of the Anglican and Lutheran Churches, although the Bishop was always to be in Anglican Orders, and Prussia was to supply half the stipend; (3) it was outside the British dominions, and therefore a special Act of Parliament had to be obtained, authorising the Primate to consecrate to a see that was not territorial; (4) the first bishop was a converted Jew, Dr. Alexander.² This scheme was much objected to by many High Churchmen, and J. H. Newman, in his *Apologia*, declares that it was the "last straw" in his discontent with the Church of England; but Archbishop Howley, Bishop Blomfield, S. Wilberforce, and Dr. Hook favoured it; also W. E. Gladstone, who proposed the new Bishop's health at a dinner given by Bunsen.

¹ Gladstone lived to speak also at the Jubilee Meeting in 1891; and then again the C.M.S. President also spoke, this time Sir John Kennaway.

² Alexander was a Prussian by birth, but an Anglican by ordination. He was Professor of Hebrew and Arabic at King's College.

Some of the men chosen for the new bishoprics were distinctly exceptional in standing and ability. The most distinguished academically was Perry of Melbourne, who had been Senior Wrangler of his year. Vidal of Sierra Leone was an extraordinary linguist. George Smith of Victoria had been one of the first two Anglican missionaries in China. Tyrrell of Newcastle (N.S. Wales), Short of Adelaide, Fulford of Montreal, Austin of Guiana, Anderson of Rupert's Land, all proved energetic bishops. But the two who made the greatest mark were G. A. Selwyn of New Zealand and Robert Gray of Capetown. Selwyn went to an already evangelised native race, previously fierce and cannibal, but tamed and largely Christian, so that white settlers could now safely come in, the Colony having just been proclaimed. His work was to build up the Church, and to carry the Gospel to other tribes of the Pacific. Gray went to a land with a much larger heathen population, and with a considerable body of Dutch settlers ; the English being few, and the Church of England scarcely represented, so that he had to begin from the beginning.

That memorable meeting of 27th April 1841 was notable in another way. Bishop Blomfield publicly invited the two Societies, S.P.G. and C.M.S., both being voluntary associations, to come into closer relations with the Church and the Episcopate. The S.P.G. was already supported by all the Bishops, but their official position in the Society was subject to election by the incorporated members.¹ Not until some years later did the Archbishop of Canterbury become *ex officio* President and the other prelates Vice-Presidents ; but the selection of its clergy was presently committed to an Examining Board appointed by the two Primates and the Bishop of London. The C.M.S. had as yet only secured recognition and patronage from a few of the Bishops ; but now, on a new clause being added to its Rules, making the Episcopate the ultimate referee in ecclesiastical questions, it was joined by the two Primates, the Bishop of London, and several others. They became Vice-Presidents, if members, at their own wish, without election.

¹ The Tractarians attacked both the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. on account of their voluntary basis. They were "congregational Societies," "joint-stock clubs." "What," asked W. Palmer, "would be thought of guinea subscribers in the early Church *inviting* the Apostles to become members of their Committee?" "The Societies should lay their offerings at the feet of the Apostles."

That year 1841, indeed, was an epoch in many ways ; not only nationally, being the year of King Edward's birth, and of the advent of Peel's great Ministry ; not only ecclesiastically, for the publication of Tract 90, and some of the events already noticed ; but also for events abroad which led to missionary extension. The Afghan War led indirectly to the Punjab Mission ; the China War led directly to the first opening of the Celestial Empire to English Church Missions ; the ill-fated Niger Expedition—in connection with which Prince Albert made his first public speech in England—led to important and successful Missions in West Africa ; and the arrival of David Livingstone as a young missionary in South Africa was the first of a long series of events which led to some of the greatest enterprises for the spread of the Gospel. Nor ought we to omit the acceptance of the secretaryship of the C.M.S. by Henry Venn, who became the ablest of missionary directors.

Another foreign enterprise dates from the 'forties. Captain Allen Gardiner, having opened a Mission in Zululand, and being obliged by the fighting between Boers and Zulus to retreat, turned to South America, and planned a Mission in Patagonia. To work this, the South American Missionary Society was organised in 1844. Gardiner himself went out, and after sore suffering heroically borne, he and six companions died of starvation in 1851. The subsequent success was recognised by Darwin, who had regarded the Fuegians as the most hopeless people on the globe, but who thankfully joined the Society through whose agency they had been tamed, civilised, converted ; and he subscribed to its funds until his death.

The years 1848-49 and 1851 were marked by two notable celebrations, the first Jubilee of the C.M.S. and the third Jubilee of the S.P.G. It is interesting to observe that five of the chief men who took part in the one took part also in the other, viz. the Primate (Sumner), Bishops Blomfield and S. Wilberforce, the Earl of Chichester (C.M.S. President), and Sir Robert Inglis (M.P. for Oxford). At the principal S.P.G. meeting Prince Albert presided. Both Societies had abundant cause for thanksgiving. Here it may be added that St. Augustine's Missionary College at Canterbury was opened in 1848, largely through the liberality of Beresford Hope. It became a chief source of supply for the S.P.G.

The period of the 'fifties was eminently one of development of Church enterprise abroad. Much progress was achieved in

India, both North and South ; and in the newly conquered province, the Punjab, Missions were started with the full sanction and co-operation of the great Christian Anglo-Indian rulers, Henry and John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, Herbert Edwardes, and others. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 interrupted work in the older northern provinces, but was quelled very largely by the skill and energy of these same men. The Queen's Proclamation, assuming the direct government of India, instead of through the East India Company, avowed her "firm reliance on the truths of Christianity," while confirming the policy of complete toleration. It was in India also that the first consecration of an English bishop abroad took place, when, in 1855, the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, and Victoria laid their hands on Dr. Macdougall as a missionary bishop for Borneo. Among other new bishoprics in this decade were Huron and Columbia, in North America ; Grahamstown and Natal, in South Africa ; Perth and Brisbane, in Australia ; Christchurch, Wellington, Nelson, and Waiapu, in New Zealand ; and the islands of Mauritius and St. Helena.

But it was in Africa that the most important new steps were taken. In the west, a new C.M.S. mission on the Niger was started, under the leadership of the Negro ex-slave, Samuel Crowther (1857) ; while three bishops of Sierra Leone, Vidal, Weeks, Bowen, fell victims to fever within four years and a half, true martyrs for Christ. In the east, the explorations (1844-55) of Krapf and Rebmann (also C.M.S.) led to the journeys of Burton and Speke and Grant (1857-58), who discovered the great lakes, the Victoria Nyanza and Tanganyika ; and this led to the later travels of Livingstone, while Speke and Grant revealed to astonished Europe the kingdom of Uganda. Livingstone's travels in the Zambesi region were meanwhile proving a great missionary inspiration. The years 1853-55 were notable for an awakening among sections of Churchmen not easily influenced by C.M.S. appeals. Bishops Gray and Selwyn were in England, arousing widespread interest in South Africa and New Zealand ; and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce was preaching and speaking with incomparable eloquence in the cause of Missions. Gray secured Colenso for Natal, and Colenso secured C. F. MacKenzie as his archdeacon ; and Selwyn secured J. C. Patteson for Melanesia. And then came Livingstone, home from his earlier travels, and made (1857-58) his memorable appeals to Oxford and Cambridge to join in the evangelisation of Africa. The

result, under the powerful lead of Bishops Wilberforce and Gray, was the formation of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa ; and C. F. Mackenzie was (January 1, 1861) consecrated at Capetown to be Bishop for the new enterprise. Into the fever-stricken swamps of the Zambesi and the Shiré went the devoted Bishop and his missionary band, guided by Livingstone himself ; and there, exactly thirteen months later (January 31, 1862), Mackenzie laid down his life for Africa, another true martyr for Christ.

Meanwhile, the growth of both the Colonial Churches and the Missions was bringing to the front a new group of difficult problems. The principal Colonies, Canada, Cape Colony, Australia, New Zealand, were granted political Home Rule, with local parliaments ; and the question arose, How could the Church in those countries remain "established" and practically under the control of the Colonial Office in Downing Street ? Bishop Selwyn was the first to see the incongruity ; but at first there seemed no alternative but episcopal autocracy, which the Colonial Bishops themselves did not wish for, knowing that it was an impossible system in democratic communities. Gradually, Selwyn and others began to form Church Synods, representing both clergy and laity ; and they were encouraged to do so by the advice of Mr. Gladstone that the Churches abroad should "organise themselves on that basis of voluntary consensual compact which was the basis on which the Church of Christ rested from the first." Not unnaturally, many English lawyers looked askance at so new a principle of action, and dreaded ecclesiastical lawlessness ; and as they exercised great influence in the C.M.S., they induced that Society to oppose the schemes put forward. They defeated in the House of Commons two Bills which Bishop Wilberforce had carried in the Lords, one for Colonial Church freedom and one for the appointment of missionary bishops. These, however, were crude proposals, and in the issue it proved more satisfactory for the Church to act without the interposition of Parliament. In Canada and some of the Australian Colonies formal sanction for Church Synods was obtained from the Colonial Legislatures ; but in other parts of Australia, and in New Zealand and South Africa, the Bishops thought this needless. Synods met, at first informally, Bishops Perry of Melbourne and Strachan of Toronto being the first to act ; and permanent constitutions were eventually adopted, by New Zealand in 1857, by Canada in 1861, by South Africa in 1870, and by Australia,

combining the different Colonies there, in 1872. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1863, on an appeal by a Capetown clergyman, Mr. Long, against a decision of Bishop Gray's, affirmed the liberty of the Churches abroad in words which seem simple enough now, but which were felt at the time to be of immense importance :—

“The Church of England, in places where there is no Church established by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body, in no better but in no worse position; and the members may adopt, as the members of any other Communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their body, which will be binding on those who, expressly or by implication, have assented to them.”

Two years later, in 1865, the Privy Council gave another important judgment, in the case of Bishop Colenso, whom Bishop Gray had deposed from his see for heresy, stating that the Crown had no power to create territorial dioceses, or grant to bishops ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in Colonies possessing independent legislatures, and that therefore the Letters Patent which had been so granted were null and void. Since then, all that the Crown does, whenever a colonial bishop is consecrated in England, is to give the Archbishop, being a State official in an established Church, authority to perform the ceremony.

The consecration of missionary bishops for foreign countries, such as China and Japan, is a different matter. The authority for this is the Act of 1841, before referred to, which was passed to enable a bishop to be consecrated for Jerusalem, and which is commonly called the Jerusalem Act, although that city is not named in it, its provisions being general. But Bishop Wilberforce and many other Churchmen disliked this Act, because it seemed to assume that the Crown had a certain power beyond its dominions; and they wished such bishops to be consecrated under the authority of the Church only. For this reason Bishop Mackenzie was not consecrated in England, but at Capetown. Subsequently, however, this and other difficulties were got over, and cases of consecration ensued without the “Jerusalem Act” being cited; but in most cases it has been used as the necessary authority.

This chapter must now close. Later progress abroad will be reported by-and-by.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE

1851-1875

The 'Fifties—Bishop Wilberforce and Dr. Hook—Evening Communion—Evangelical Clergy—Lord Shaftesbury—Religious Worship Bill—C.P.A.S. and A.C.S.—Palmerston's Bishops—Bishop Tait—Evangelistic Services—Tractarians in the Slums—Maurice and Kingsley—Women's Work: Misses Marsh and Nightingale; Sisterhoods, &c.—Lay Helpers—Parochial Missions—Moody and Sankey.

IT was not abroad only that the middle of the century was a time of Church enterprise. The 'fifties were also an era of striking developments at home in the work of winning the people for Christ. Of most of these the Church historians seem altogether ignorant; in ordinary books about the Church of England in the nineteenth century they are not alluded to at all.¹ Yet in their issues they proved to be of real importance.

It is, indeed, generally recognised that among High Churchmen the standard of both episcopal and parochial efficiency was now rapidly rising. The typical Bishop and Vicar of the new and active school were Wilberforce of Oxford and Hook of Leeds, to whom reference has already been made in another

¹ For example, take the *Student's English Church History*, by Canon G. G. Perry, 3rd edition, 1890, a standard and widely circulated work of over 500 closely printed pages, covering the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The chapters on this period are headed "Gorham Case," "Revival of Convocation," "Papal Aggression," "Early Days of Convocation," "Cathedral Commission," "Essays and Reviews," "Bishop Colenso," "Ritual Commission." The dates given at the heads of these eight chapters are from 1851 to 1870, but the dates between 1856 and 1860 are actually left out, except regarding Colenso. Dr. Tait as Bishop of London is not mentioned at all, and only named as Archbishop in connection with the Lambeth Conferences. The Bishop of London's Fund, and the Special Services of the period, are not once alluded to. St. Paul's Cathedral, the revival of which dates from 1858, is not even in the Index. The word "Evangelicals," in the Index, only refers the student to the eighteenth century; and the only Evangelical clergymen since Charles Simeon who are named at all are Archbishop Sumner and the bishops who died in West Africa; while the one layman, Lord Shaftesbury, is only alluded to as an assailant of Ritualism. Moreover, the "Broad" school also is ignored. The names of Maurice, Kingsley, and F. W. Robertson are not in the Index. Jowett is named once; Stanley twice. And this is "history"!

connection. It is no disparagement to the good brother-Bishops Sumner and two or three others, who were already working in their dioceses in quite a different spirit from the old coach-and-six and Greek-play prelates, to acknowledge that Samuel Wilberforce did set a new standard of episcopal service. His ordination and confirmation methods, his preaching tours, his Parochial Missions, and many other novelties, introduced higher ideas altogether of what a bishop should be and do. He held that "a bishop was to be as much the mainspring of all spiritual and religious agency in his diocese, as a parochial clergyman is bound to be in his parish"; and with untiring diligence and incomparable personal influence he acted up to his theory. Burgon, in *Twelve Good Men*, calls him the "Remodeller of the Episcopate." Dr. Hook's work as Vicar of Leeds was in its way as remarkable, and showed what persistent energy and strong belief in the Church could achieve in the way of church-building, organisation of new parishes, promotion of education and Sunday-schools, and social elevation, and in producing out of an industrial population large bands of intelligent Church people. One innovation of his was especially noticeable as coming from a High Churchman. In November 1851 the Leeds Ruridecanal Chapter, under his auspices, proposed an entirely new practice, Evening Communion,¹ and it was quickly adopted in several of the churches. Within a few months the same practice was introduced in the parish church of Birmingham by Dr. J. C. Miller. Miller, indeed, was doing a work in Birmingham not less effective than Hook's at Leeds, although on different lines; and so were McNeile at Liverpool, Stowell at Manchester, and many others at Sheffield, Bristol, and other great towns; while Champneys at Whitechapel and Cadman in Southwark showed what could be done in London slums. Islington, especially, was in the front, under the second Daniel Wilson, W. B. Mackenzie, and others. Its Church Home Mission, which worked in the New Cattle

¹ The report adopted said: "It has been deeply impressed upon us that the paucity of attenders at the Holy Communion is in a considerable degree due to its celebration at a time when it is most inconvenient to the humbler classes, and effectually prevents the attendance of the wives and mothers amongst our poorer brethren. Your committee do not believe that by such an arrangement any rule of the Church would be infringed, whilst it would allow many of the working-classes who are now virtually debarred from that ordinance to approach the Table of the Lord." This is printed in a Tractarian organ of that day, with full approval, and is quoted by Mr. Balleine in his *Hist. Evang. Party*, p. 243.

Market, in omnibus yards, and in the open air, and visited the poor from house to house, and its Church Extension Society, which built ten churches in half-a-dozen years, were the direct progenitors of two important diocesan institutions. The London Diocesan Home Mission and the Bishop of London's Fund were afterwards founded expressly to do for the diocese what the two Islington Societies had done for that great parish.

All this time one distinguished layman was hard at work in the service of his Divine Master. Lord Ashley had succeeded, after years of struggle in Parliament, in passing his Factory Bill, in 1847. In 1852 he succeeded to the Earldom of Shaftesbury, and continued his Christian and philanthropic labours. Ragged Schools and all sorts of Home Mission agencies were started under his auspices ; and although these were not definitely Church enterprises, they were in fact to a large extent worked by Churchmen : John Macgregor, for instance, of "Rob Roy Canoe" fame, who started the Open Air Mission and the Shoeblack Brigade ; and George Williams, who founded the Young Men's Christian Association. One of Shaftesbury's proposals was the Religious Worship Bill, designed to remedy the evils arising from the old Conventicle Act, under which no religious meeting could be held in an unlicensed building, nor could more than twenty persons outside the family pray together even in a private house. That Act had rarely been put in force, but it was not dead ; and in 1854 a county magistrate who gave a cottage lecture at his park gates was threatened with its penalties. The Bill was opposed by the leading Bishops, on the ground that it would injure the parochial system and give undue liberty to Dissenters ; but in 1855 it was passed in a modified form—just in time for the great evangelistic movement that was coming.

Some of the most important moves had been made previously. In 1836 the Evangelicals had formed the Church Pastoral Aid Society ; and in the following year some of the High Churchmen who had at first joined it, including W. E. Gladstone, seceded as a protest against the proposed employment of lay agents for spiritual work, and formed the Additional Curates Society instead. It is astonishing at the present day to read what was then said on this subject. The House of Lords appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and the examination of the C.P.A.S. men by some of the Bishops is both amazing and amusing. However, we must not judge them by our modern standard. Only a generation earlier, some of

the Evangelical clergy, John Newton for one, had hesitated to join the C.M.S. because it proposed to use lay catechists. Church parties cannot afford to throw stones at each other; but it is well to recognise from which of them certain reforms and developments did at last come.

The year 1856 was a much greater epoch in the history of the Church of England than is often acknowledged. Those who think only of party controversy, if they mark the year at all, mark it as one of disaster, because it saw the appointment of the first "Palmerston Bishops." Well, Tait, Thomson, Ellicott, Harold Browne, Philpott, Jeune, Jacobson, Trench, were in different ways very distinguished men. As for the five who were definitely Evangelical, Villiers, R. Bickersteth, Baring, Pelham, Waldegrave, four were men of high University standing; four were parish clergymen of large experience; and the four who lived long enough for a fair estimate proved earnest and hard-working bishops. But it is true that the influence of many of both groups was against the High Church movements of the time, and in some cases unhappily so. In the judgment of the present writer, Bishop Wilberforce was sometimes right, and they wrong. If they had been less influenced by old-fashioned lawyers, they might have done a noble work in guiding the whole Anglican Communion. But all this does not warrant the unjust depreciation sometimes measured out to them.

But the importance of the epoch of 1856 is independent of all this, except that some of the new bishops took an active part in the evangelistic movements which began about that time. The most conspicuous event was the coming of Tait to London. He at once threw himself into practical work among the masses. He preached in ragged schools, in omnibus yards, in the docks, in Covent Garden market, in the very streets themselves, and generally indulged in what the clergy of the old school called "undignified methodistical proceedings." Then, under Lord Shaftesbury's auspices, Church services were held in Exeter Hall, Bishops Villiers and R. Bickersteth, and other leading clergymen, preaching "in full canonicals" to crowds of working men; and similar services were held in many churches, with all seats free and open. Bishop Tait, stirred up by all this, persuaded the Deans and Chapters of St. Paul's and the Abbey to do the like. Evening services had never been held in them before, and the excitement was great. Prominent members of Convocation, led by Archdeacon Denison, complained loudly: it was "subversive

of the ancient order of our cathedrals"—which was true enough! After this, preaching in theatres on Sunday nights began, and when this was attacked in the House of Lords, Shaftesbury made perhaps the greatest speech of his life in its defence. At the same time, two lay Churchmen, Captain Trotter and Stevenson (afterwards Sir A.) Blackwood, gave religious addresses in Willis's Rooms for the "Upper Ten," whose carriages on these occasions blocked King Street and St. James's Square. Many parishes were visited with revival influences; prayer-meetings became common; Home Mission agencies of all kinds multiplied; and the year 1860 is still remembered for the blessing vouchsafed to the spiritual movements of the day. Some of these movements were definitely Church movements; some were not; but in the latter case Churchmen had a large share in them, so that they cannot be ignored in any fair history of the Church of England, any more than the Methodist Revival of the eighteenth century can be ignored.

All this time the practical influence of the Tractarians, or rather of the successors of the original Tractarians, was growing apace, not by controversy, as in the earlier days, but by devoted labours among the poor. Not in Belgravia merely, but in the worst slums, did the clergy who presently began to be called Ritualists toil day and night, year in and year out, for the material, the social, the religious welfare of the people. The Ritualist Controversy does not come before us in this chapter; it will by-and-by. But the severest critics of this school of High Churchmen ought to give ungrudging recognition to the self-denial and patience with which their practical work among all classes has been carried on. That their innovations in many places offended congregations and produced empty churches is true; but in many other places they became exceedingly popular, filled their churches to overflowing, and gradually raised up a powerful body of adherents, both men and women, from the poorest as well as from the richest sections of the community. Charles Lowder, of St. Peter's, London Docks, is but one of a host of men worthy of admiration, if not in all respects of approval. Moreover, they did set forth Christ as a Saviour, and seek to win men to Him. They loved to sing "There is a fountain filled with blood" and "Jesu, lover of my soul," which the old High Church rector of 1830 would not have tolerated. H. Venn, the C.M.S. Secretary, said one day to Lord Chichester, "very solemnly," says the Earl, "and with tears in his eyes": "With all this error and

superstition, there is a marked work of the Spirit going on. A. B., with all the nonsensical practices going on at his church, preaches the Gospel, and souls are converted."

There was yet another section of Churchmen which at the same period became active in practical work. This was the "Broad" School of F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and their associates. To their teachings a future chapter must refer. Their labours in Home Mission enterprise, which were more or less of the type of the modern Toynbee Hall, mostly centred round the Working Men's College, of which the leaders were Maurice, Llewellyn Davies, J. M. Ludlow, and T. Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown's School-Days*. They gained great influence over a somewhat limited class; while Kingsley, by both his sermons and his novels, fostered what came to be known as Muscular Christianity. This school must certainly have its place in any account of the Church and the People.

It was not men's work only that was now multiplying. The service of Christian women was coming to the front, and proving most valuable. And this not only in agencies designed to benefit women, like the G.F.S. and the Y.W.C.A. in after years, but also in religious and social work among men. Miss Marsh among the navvies, Mrs. Ranyard with her Bible-women, Mrs. Bayly in her "Ragged Homes," were the pioneers of a host of devoted ladies willing to spend and be spent for the good of the people. Home Mission work among definite classes of men, such as soldiers, sailors, policemen, postmen, &c., has to a large extent been carried on by them; and the names of Mrs. Daniel and Miss Weston demand recognition. When the cholera, in 1866, ravaged the East End of London, "the three Catherines," Mrs. Tait, Mrs. Gladstone, and Miss Marsh, became famous for their self-denying labours among the sick and suffering. But they had been anticipated by a lady whose name will be honoured for all time for her heroic work in the military hospitals at Scutari during the Crimean War, and for the wonderful issue of her enterprise in the great army of hospital nurses to whom we now owe so much—Florence Nightingale. Sisterhoods also, even as early as the 'forties, were founded by Miss Sellon and others at Plymouth, Wantage, Clewer, &c. That some of these were extreme in doctrine and in practice is undeniable. The Clewer Sisterhood gave great trouble to Bishop S. Wilberforce, who tried in vain to keep it on moderate lines. But the Sisters were as devoted and self-sacrificing in their way as the ladies

already mentioned were in their very different way, and no fair historian can refuse to acknowledge the value of their practical labours. Presently, in several dioceses, the bishops began to organise bands of Deaconesses, who, having no vows, were on more moderate lines, and who also quickly rendered important service. But all had to run the fire of jealous criticism. Even the Mildmay Deaconesses, started by Mr. Pennefather about 1865, frightened the staid Islingtonians when they appeared in their simple and quiet uniform.

The official organisation of laymen's work came a little later. In 1865 was formed the Association of Lay Helpers for the Diocese of London, and other dioceses by-and-by followed suit. In 1867 the Bishops agreed upon rules for Lay Readers who conducted services in mission-rooms; but fourteen years more had to elapse before the modern Diocesan Lay Readership was invented, as we shall see hereafter. Not that laymen waited for episcopal authorisation before exercising in informal ways the "vocation and ministry" which belonged to them as Christian men; large numbers were preaching and teaching in both city and country; but when, gradually, that authorisation came, it was valued by very many, and it tended to bring together in common fellowship men generally, and inevitably, divided as to views and methods. The Communion Services of the Lay Helpers at St. Paul's were occasions to be remembered.

Then came Parochial Missions. These, as introduced in London in 1869 by G. H. Wilkinson, G. Body, C. W. Furse, and other fervent preachers of the High Church school, were different from Bishop Wilberforce's preachings or the Special Services before referred to. The idea of one "missioner," or chief "missioner," conducting (or arranging) services of all kinds for ten or twelve days in one parish was new; but it met a felt need, and was quickly and widely adopted by all parties. In addition to the men just named, the two Aitkens, father and son, W. Haslam (a remarkable Cornish vicar), and many others, became prominent in this work, which culminated in the great Church Mission for all London in 1874. In the following year occurred the first of the truly wonderful Missions of the American evangelist and singer, Moody and Sankey. Though not "Church work," so many Churchmen took part in it, and so great is the Church's debt to it in many ways, that it might well call for a fuller notice in these pages, did space permit.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH IN COUNCIL

1850-1897

Convocation: its Suppression and Revival—Evangelical Attitude towards t—Defects of its Constitution—Church Congress: Early Meetings—Diocesan Conferences—First Lambeth Conference—Colenso Case—Later Meetings—House of Laymen—Islington Meeting.

FROM the earliest times the Church of England has had its Synods, and from the reign of Edward II. the two Convocations of Canterbury and York have been summoned simultaneously with the Parliament. Throughout the Reformation period they took an important part in the changes that were effected. But George I. silenced them, and for 135 years they met only to pass a formal address to the Crown. As Warren's *Synodalia* expresses it, "a few clergymen, chosen they knew not how, met two or three bishops they knew not when, and presented an address to the Crown, for what purpose they could not tell."

Two events already referred to in these pages led to an agitation for a revival of Convocation, viz. the appointment of Bishop Hampden and the Gorham Judgment. The younger High Churchmen were even before these events revolting against the prevailing Erastianism, and even the Evangelicals felt the lack of a qualified Church assembly. Henry Venn, in 1838, arguing that the S.P.G. was as purely a voluntary body as the C.M.S., declared that "nothing less than the sanction of a duly-assembled Convocation" could "identify any missionary Society with the Church"; Francis Close, in his C.M.S. Sermon at St. Bride's in 1841, said, "We are, alas! in such a situation that we cannot move as a Church: we have no Synod; we have no Convocation"; and the *Christian Observer*, on the same subject, said that "National Establishment does not require the obliteration of the Church's spiritual functions." On the other hand, Bishop Blomfield, when proposing, in 1832, the Commission which led to the permanent Ecclesiastical Commission, as mentioned in our third chapter, advocated it in place of a revival of Convocation, "which," he added, "we do not wish for." Curiously enough, it was Bishop Blomfield who, after the Gorham Judgment, brought a Bill into the House of Lords to transfer cases affecting

doctrine from the Privy Council to a revived Convocation ; and it was only defeated by eighty-four to fifty-one.

In that same year, 1850, a Society to promote the revival of Convocation was formed, chiefly through the efforts of Mr. Henry Hoare. But the man who really pushed the cause to the front was Bishop S. Wilberforce. How he sought to influence Lord Derby's Conservative Ministry of 1852 and Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry of 1853 ; how he constantly stirred up Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the latter Cabinet ; how he gently but persistently tried to overcome the scruples of Archbishop Sumner, who above all things dreaded the activity of the rising High Church party ; how he contrived to get leave for the two Houses to debate for *two days* in 1852 ; how he struggled on until from 1854 he succeeded in obtaining for them the liberty of speech they have enjoyed ever since—all this is told in detail in his *Life*. But the Evangelical position had now changed to one of hostility. Lord Shaftesbury protested against the exclusion of the laity ; and Gladstone wrote to him agreeing that lay Churchmen had a right also to be heard—which Mr. Henry Hoare had always designed. The difficulty was that the British Constitution regards Parliament as representing the laity and Convocation the clergy, so that the admission of the laity to Convocation would have involved an important constitutional change. Thirty years later, Archbishop Benson sought to meet the difficulty by establishing the voluntary and extra-legal House of Laymen.

Gradually, both the Canterbury and York Convocations grew in influence. Their debates have often—not always—been distinctly able and interesting, particularly those of the Upper House. And the Canterbury body, within the first twenty years of its revival, effected at least two important practical moves. It was Archdeacon Sandford's Committee on Intemperance that originated the Church of England Temperance Society ; and it was Bishop Wilberforce's proposals in the Upper House that led to the Revision of the English Bible.

The constitution of Convocation is not favourable to a fair and true representation of the Church. First, the official members, the Deans and Archdeacons, and the proctors for the cathedral chapters, form a large majority, and the representatives of the parochial clergy are only a minority ; secondly, for the latter only beneficed clergymen can vote, and curates, school-masters, secretaries, University dons, &c., are not represented at

all ; thirdly, a diocese like that of London has no more members than that of Bangor or Truro. All parties in the Church desire reforms ; but it is not easy to see the way to effect them. Thirty years ago, J. C. Ryle, a leading Evangelical, afterwards Bishop of Liverpool, said that Convocation needed four things, viz. : (1) *Amalgamation*, i.e. of the two Provinces ; (2) *Expansion*, i.e. more elected representatives of the working clergy ; (3) *Reduction*, i.e. of the official members ; (4) *Inclusion*, i.e. of the laity. This fourth point was, as we have seen, not practicable ; and as to the third, however desirable in theory, it was not prudent of an Evangelical to suggest it, because almost all the Evangelical members have, in fact, been those who happened to be so *ex officio* as Deans or Archdeacons.

But the next decade witnessed three movements which have done more than the Revival of Convocation for the life and work of the Church. The year 1861 saw the first Church Congress ; 1864, the first Diocesan Conference ; 1867, the first Lambeth Conference. These emanated neither from Convocation nor from any other official authority in England. The first two were started by Archdeacon Emery ; and the third was a suggestion from Canada. The truly English fashion prevailed, of working, at least at first, through unofficial channels.

The first Church Congress was held at Cambridge. Oxford received it in 1862 ; and after the two University towns came successively Manchester, Bristol, Norwich, York, &c. The meetings grew in popularity year by year ; and although there was often some hot party controversy, the Congress undoubtedly achieved two excellent results. In the first place, it brought men who differed widely face to face upon a common platform, sometimes in vehement mutual opposition, but more often in the exchange of views on practical questions and of experiences in practical Church life. In the second place, the Congress did much to foster improvements and developments, by familiarising the minds of Church people with them. Parochial Work, Lay Ministries, Women's Work, Training of the Clergy, Methods of reaching the Working Classes, Education, Sunday Schools, Temperance, Social Questions, Church Patronage, Cathedral Reform, Increase of the Episcopate, Foreign Missions, were among the subjects discussed ; while valuable instruction was given by papers on the more intellectual topics of Religion and Science, Biblical Criticism, and the like ; and from 1870 onwards there has always been one session for addresses on the Spiritual

Life. Moreover, the Congress platform not only introduced to the Church generally the chief bishops and other leaders, but also brought forward promising younger men. It spread the oratorical fame of a Magee; it added to the influence of a Maclagan and a Walsham How; it made a J. C. Ryle and an E. Hoare popular men. And not a few laymen owe much of their reputation to their Congress papers and speeches.

Quite different were the Diocesan Conferences, the first of which was arranged by Archdeacon Emery for the Diocese of Ely, and the second by Bishop Selwyn in 1868, immediately on his translation from New Zealand to Lichfield. The Church Congress was a purely voluntary gathering of men and women from all quarters; but the Diocesan Conference was an elected body of clergy and laity, representatives of the rural deaneries of the diocese. But they were different, again, from the Synods or Conferences in the Colonies, which Selwyn had done so much to promote. In non-established Churches some such bodies are indispensable, and actually have a considerable share in the administration of Church affairs; but under a venerable Establishment as in England, they could have no legal power, and the more Erastianly-inclined among Churchmen looked on them with a good deal of jealousy and some little alarm. Even Bishop Wilberforce, the champion of Church independence, declined to start a Conference. "I know how it will be," he said; "when all goes well and smoothly, the laity will say, 'How well we did it!' If it should fail, they will say, 'What a mess the Bishop made of it!'" Nevertheless, diocese after diocese organised one, London and Worcester being the last to move; and there can be no question that they have proved useful in familiarising both clergy and laity with ecclesiastical questions of practical interest. Moreover, without them the Houses of Laymen and the Representative Church Council of later times would have been very difficult to arrange.

In the meanwhile, the decisions of the Privy Council touching the Colonial Churches, mentioned in our fifth chapter, and the case of Bishop Colenso, to be mentioned in our next chapter, led many thoughtful Churchmen, both at home and abroad, to wish that the Bishops of the different branches of the Church would meet together and agree upon some practical action. The initiatory step to this end was taken by the Canadian Church. Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Lewis, of Ontario, suggested that the Archbishop of Canterbury should summon his epis-

copal brethren from all parts of the world ; and Dr. Longley, who held the Primacy from 1862 to 1868, acted on the suggestion. He invited 144 bishops, English, Irish, Scotch, Colonial, Missionary, American ; and 76 attended, including 24 from the Colonies and the Missions and 19 from the United States. Many, of course, were prevented by distance from coming ; but more serious was the refusal of six of the Home Bishops, five of them from the Province of York, to attend a gathering which they expected would set up ecclesiastical authority against that of the State. The result, certainly, was to assert the authority of the Church *independently* of the State in certain respects ; but in point of fact, in the existing conditions of the Churches abroad, which were not "established," this was precisely what was needed. The Conference was marked by a strenuous struggle between Bishop Tait of London on the one hand, and Bishops S. Wilberforce, Gray of Capetown, and Selwyn of New Zealand on the other ; and while the latter, supported by the American bishops, pressed what may be called the sacerdotal principle too far, Tait's policy, on the other hand, would have subjected the free Colonial Churches unduly to the legal restrictions of Home Establishment. The debates ranged chiefly around the case of Bishop Colenso of Natal. Bishop Gray had excommunicated Colenso, and deposed him (in an ecclesiastical sense) from his bishopric, by a series of processes of doubtful legality and of distinct high-handedness ; and the main question was, Should this deposition be recognised, and should steps be taken to send out a new bishop for the Church in Natal ? By large majorities Wilberforce and Gray and Selwyn prevailed. The Broad Church party were very angry ; and so were most Evangelicals, who, though they condemned Colenso's views, dreaded sacerdotalism more than Erastianism.

It fell to Archbishop Tait, who became Primate in 1868, to summon the second Lambeth Conference, in 1878. By that time the excitement over the Natal question had subsided, and Tait proved an acceptable as well as a sagacious President. Exactly one hundred Bishops attended, including those who had stood aloof the first time. The subjects discussed were mostly practical ones concerning the mutual relations of the Churches represented ; also the relations of missionaries to the bishops under whom they worked.

No Primate yet has lived to preside over two of these decennial Conferences ; and the third was held in 1888 under

the chairmanship of Archbishop Benson. This was attended by 145 Bishops; the growth of the Church abroad being illustrated by the presence of 53 from the Colonies and the Missions and 29 from the States. The subjects discussed were of more general public interest than before, including Temperance, Purity, Divorce, Polygamy, the Lord's Day, Socialism, Emigration, Home Reunion, and Relations to other Churches.

The fourth Lambeth Conference, held in 1897, was presided over by Archbishop Temple, and was attended by 194 Bishops. It was particularly notable for the important Report of the Committee on Foreign Missions, the work of Bishop Jacob of Newcastle; the fourteen Resolutions of the Conference on that subject; and the five pages of the Encyclical (out of twenty) devoted to it. The Primate's own address on the Evangelisation of the World made a profound impression.

The jealousies and suspicions which beset the first Lambeth Conference have long since died away; the Anglican Episcopate has abundantly justified its claim that its voice should be heard; and its utterances, decade by decade, have gained greatly in weight and influence, and have come to be received with respect and gratitude by all loyal members of the Anglican Communion.

Before the third Lambeth Conference was held, Archbishop Benson had started, in 1885, the House of Laymen for the Province of Canterbury, the formation of which was immediately followed by that of a similar House for the Province of York. The electors were the lay members of the Diocesan Conferences, which by that time existed in all the dioceses. The Earl of Selborne, who was indisputably the most highly respected lay Churchman of the period, gave the Canterbury House the assurance of success by accepting the chairmanship. He was succeeded in 1895 by Lord Ashcombe (and he, in 1906, by the present Marquis of Salisbury). The Chairman of the York House has been Viscount Cross. Like all the other bodies mentioned in this chapter, these new ones began modestly, but grew in strength and in reputation year by year. Purely voluntary as the Houses of Laymen are, and without a tittle of legal status, they have gained undeniable influence. At first they were defective in *personnel*, the great majority of the members being country gentlemen; but since the proportionate numbers of members from the different dioceses has been altered, they have become more representative.

Other less formal bodies for mutual conference have been

formed from time to time by various sections of Churchmen. Without referring to private gatherings, or to party Societies, one conspicuous gathering should be mentioned, as being of much older standing than any of those already noticed, and being, like the Church Congress, a mere annual assembly without permanent membership or organisation. This is the Islington Clerical Meeting, founded by the first Daniel Wilson in 1827, and for very many years consisting of thirty to fifty clergymen gathered in the library of (the old) Islington Vicarage. After about forty years it moved to a public hall holding 250, and quite filled it ; and since then the numbers have increased fourfold. Here, year by year, the Evangelical leaders—first Bickersteth, Stowell, McNeile, Cunningham, Villiers ; then Miller, Ryle, Garbett, Cadman, Birks, the Bardsleys ; then Barlow, Boulabee, Perry, Hoare, Richardson, Lefroy ; then Webb-Peploe, Moule, Wace—exhorted and encouraged their brethren.

In many ways, it will be seen, the Church, which in the first half of the century had no united meeting at all, has gradually come to be “in Council” : officially in the Convocations, unofficially in the Church Congress, semi-officially in the Diocesan Conferences ; its Bishops at the Lambeth Conference ; its laity in the two Houses of Laymen ; even its parties in sectional gatherings like the Islington Meeting. “In the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom” ; so wisdom ought now to be easily attainable. Anyway, the Divine blessing has continually been sought ; and very manifestly, in various ways, has it been vouchsafed.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH AND THE FAITH

1840-1900

Science and Religion—Geology—Darwin, Spencer, Evolution—Broad Theology—Maurice, Kingsley, Robertson, Matthew Arnold—Biblical Criticism—Biblical Works—Revised Version—*Essays and Reviews*—Colenso—*Ecce Homo*—*Supernatural Religion*—Books in Reply—Recent Controversies.

DURING the period covered by the last two chapters, and particularly in the decade of the 'sixties, the thoughts of Churchmen were much exercised by what were regarded as serious attacks

upon the Faith. These attacks, or supposed attacks, came from three quarters—from Science, from Neologian Doctrine, and from Biblical Criticism.

I. The nineteenth century was emphatically the century of Science. The advances of our knowledge of the material universe were in many respects greater than had been witnessed by any previous century. In most branches of Science, the discoveries did not seem to touch the traditional beliefs of Christian men. They were able to rejoice in the wonderful revelations of Astronomy; few were troubled by sceptical suggestions that a little subordinate planet like the Earth could not have been the object of the Creator's special regard; and it seemed clearer than ever that "an undevout astronomer is mad." When the entirely new science of Spectrum Analysis came to the front about 1860, it was welcomed as a fresh illustration of the unsearchable wisdom of God. But before that, Geology had caused a good deal of alarm. The inspiration of the Bible was supposed to be pledged to the popular belief that the world was created out of nothing in six days of twenty-four hours; and Dean Buckland and Sir C. Lyell were gravely suspected of disloyalty to the Faith. People shook their heads even over a devout man like Professor Owen. *Vestiges of Creation*, by Robert Chambers, which appeared in the 'forties, was the first of a long series of works that were dreaded as tending to undermine belief in Genesis. But Hugh Miller, the Scottish naturalist, comforted many by his combination of fervent Christian faith with enthusiasm for geological research; and after a while all reasonable men came to see that Geology, with its wonderful revelations of the Earth's past ages, only enhanced the glory of God, and that whatever explanations might be given of the first chapter of Genesis, it still remained the most sublime passage in all literature, and a worthy introduction to the inspired Scriptures.

Then, in 1859, came the epoch-making publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, followed, a few years later, by his *Descent of Man*. The fascinating interest of these works only enhanced the alarm which they aroused. The great doctrine of Evolution, with its accompanying theories of Natural Selection and the Survival of the Fittest, seemed to rob the Divine Creator of His honour. Genesis again was in danger. If man had descended from the monkey—which Darwin was supposed to imply—what became of the Mosaic narrative? Serious as were the questions raised, there was a comical side to them. Arch-

deacon Freeman, at the Southampton Church Congress in 1870, evoked great laughter and cheering by saying, "For my part, I believe there really was such a man as Adam; I do indeed!" and Disraeli, at Oxford, declared that if the question lay between an angelic or an apish origin of man, he was "on the side of the angels." By-and-by came Herbert Spencer, applying the theory of Evolution to all departments of life and knowledge; but though for thirty years he was almost worshipped as the greatest philosopher of the age, there are many signs now that his supremacy was temporary and his teachings not of such permanent value as had been supposed. Professors Huxley and Tyndall, too, in the name of pure science, indulged in passing observations of at least a slighting character on the Christian religion, and thus to some extent marred their just influence as first-rate in their respective departments of biology and physics. True Science, however, survives both the premature plaudits of the anti-Christian scientist and the jealous fears of the timid theologian. The doctrine of Evolution has come to be widely accepted, not as destroying but as confirming the Christian's faith in the unassailable greatness of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe; and Darwin, notwithstanding the corrections which advancing knowledge has made in his arguments, is revered as one of the great and good men of the century.

II. The century was also marked by a growth of what was called "broader" Theology. It originated partly from a natural reaction from both the stiff orthodoxy of one section of Churchmen and the Calvinism (whether extreme or mild) of another section, in the Georgian period; and partly from the increasing study of German philosophical and theological literature. Dr. Arnold may be regarded as a leader in the new direction on certain lines; Whately on other lines; Julius and Augustus Hare on lines again quite distinct. Thirlwall, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, was another, who was among the first, not only to study German writers, but to translate them into English. It was not, indeed, the "Broad" school only that looked to Germany. Pusey had been there himself, and had become familiar with German thought and literature; but he, of course, had little sympathy with it. It is hard to identify S. T. Coleridge with any school; but his writings certainly influenced many to confound Divine inspiration with human intuition, as, though in very different ways, Kant and Schleiermacher had done in Germany.

But the man who came to be regarded as, not exactly the leader, but the chief preacher and writer, among those who favoured what was then a "new theology," was Frederick Denison Maurice. Few men have exercised more definite influence upon the younger members of the Church than he. Though brought up under Unitarian auspices, he became an ardent upholder of the divinity of Christ; and he did real service by insisting on the Fatherhood of God and His all-embracing love. But he was under the influence of Coleridge, Hare, and Erskine the Scottish divine; and his aversion from even moderate Calvinism, and also from the teaching of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo?* put him in antagonism towards the doctrine of Atonement as held by both High and Low Churchmen; while his eschatological views, as expounded in his *Theological Essays*, caused his virtual dismissal from his professorship at King's College. His influence was exercised by his striking sermons as Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and by his books, some of which, as for example his *Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament*, gave fresh emphasis to the ethical value of the Scriptures, and anticipated much that is widely and acceptably taught at the present day. A great controversy arose between him and Mansel (afterwards Dean of St. Paul's) on the question of man's knowledge of God. Maurice contended that man could "know God," though this was in a rather mystical fashion; while Mansel, in his Bampton Lectures, which were thought at the time a great triumph for orthodoxy, went to the other extreme, and seemed almost to justify Agnosticism. The influence of Maurice was a gain for the Church upon the whole; but it involved loss also. For instance, one of his fervent disciples was Charles Voysey, of the "Theistic Church."

With Maurice was associated Charles Kingsley, to whose work as the apostle of "Muscular Christianity" allusion has already been made. As a teacher, he did more by his breezy novels even than by his not less breezy sermons, though the latter had a great circulation. While Maurice indoctrinated the thoughtful student, Kingsley appealed to the man in the street. The cheery optimism of *Westward Ho!* taught moral lessons to many who were only mystified by Maurice. His chief controversy was with Newman, whom he attacked for what he considered the latter's want of English straightforwardness; but however right he may have been in substance, he was no match for the Cardinal as a dialectician.

Another influential teacher of the "new theology" was F. W. Robertson of Brighton, who was a preacher pure and simple, but

whose sermons made a profound impression by their clearness of thought and lucidity of style. His influence, like Maurice's, was of a mixed character. That it helped many doubters to a belief in Christ is indisputable; but it set others, unquestionably, on the downward road to scepticism.

Matthew Arnold, one of the sons of Arnold of Rugby, was another prominent critic of orthodox Christianity. He poured contempt on what he called Philistinism, an odd name for the quiet and sober religion of the middle classes; and while he taught "morality touched by emotion," he seemed to resolve the Divine Being into "an eternal not ourselves which makes for righteousness." Poetry and unbelief combined in him to produce the familiar and melodious but melancholy verse:—

"Now He is dead; far hence He lies
In the lorn Syrian town;
And on His grave, with shining eyes,
The Syrian stars look down."

Truly one may say, the Syrian stars know better!

III. The third branch of study, the developments of which alarmed orthodox Churchmen, was Biblical Criticism. This, too, was much cultivated in Germany; and the works of Strauss in particular shocked the devout Christian by their bold irreverence in discussing even the character of our Lord Himself. Later arose the Tübingen School, with Baur as its leading teacher, also throwing discredit on the New Testament narratives; and then came Renan in France, with his attractive but utterly misleading picture of Christ as a young Jew of dreamy and emotional temperament. Meanwhile, in England, many years earlier, Milman (afterwards Dean of St. Paul's) had startled reverent readers of the Bible by the free way in which he told the history of the Jews in the style of a secular historian. He scarcely deserved the criticism he encountered; but Christian people had not then learned what a flood of light is thrown upon the inspired Scriptures by a knowledge both of the realities of Oriental life and of archæological discovery. To call Abraham a "Semitic sheikh" seemed to them irreverent; to us it only gives a more vivid appreciation of the historic truth of Genesis.

In after years, Dean Stanley's picturesque Lectures on the Jewish Church, Conybeare and Howson's illuminating Life of St. Paul, Plumptre's Biblical Studies—and, later still, the works of Farrar and Edersheim,—popularised the study of both Old and

New Testament, and confirmed the faith of Bible students ; though Stanley's writings in some parts certainly suggested a low view of inspiration. The Commentaries of Alford and Wordsworth, the former owing much to the more orthodox of the German writers, and the latter more to the Early Fathers, displaced the older and less critical works of Matthew Henry and Thomas Scott and D'Oyly and Mant ; though they could not rival the incomparable quaintness and wit of Henry, or the solid and balanced exposition of Scott. But the greatest mark was made by Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, the publication of which, about 1860, was a real epoch in the history of Biblical study. This splendid work was at first denounced for what was thought, by the *Record* particularly, to be its too free handling of Scripture ; but its high value and reverent tone quickly won general recognition, and no one thought that within another generation it would be superseded as too conservative by Dictionaries more up-to-date.

At this point should be mentioned the Revision of the English Bible, certainly one of the great events of the period. It was proposed by Bishop S. Wilberforce in 1870 ; and two companies of competent scholars were appointed, including Nonconformists as well as Churchmen, to revise the Old and New Testaments respectively. The Revised Version of the New Testament appeared in 1881, and that of the Old in 1884. The former was criticised by some as going beyond, in the number and character of its alterations, the intention of Convocation ; and it was vehemently assailed by Dr. Burgon in the *Quarterly Review*. The latter was more conservative, and met with more general approval. But the whole Revised Version has held its ground, and although it has not superseded the Old Version in the public services (except in a few churches), it is constantly used when quotations are wanted, and there is no difference of opinion as to its far greater accuracy. And without question its issue has promoted Biblical study among the rank and file. Among Greek scholars a similar impetus was given by the issue, in 1881, of Westcott and Hort's edition of the New Testament, which has proved an epoch-making work.

But we must revert to the sharp controversies of the 'sixties. In 1860 appeared the famous *Essays and Reviews*, designed, said the Preface, "to illustrate the advantage derivable to the cause of religious and moral truth from a free handling, in a becoming spirit, of subjects peculiarly liable to suffer by the

repetition of conventional language, and from traditional methods of treatment." Of the seven Essays, one attacked miracles and another the first chapter of Genesis, while a third reproduced some reckless German criticism of the Old Testament, and a fourth, by Jowett of Balliol, exposed the difficulties and apparent discrepancies of the Bible and argued that it should be interpreted "like any other book." One or two others, including the opening one by the Head-master of Rugby, Dr. Temple, were regarded as comparatively harmless; but the book as a whole raised a violent storm of indignation. Bishop Wilberforce vehemently assailed it in the *Quarterly Review*; Dean Stanley by his defiant defence of it in the *Edinburgh* only fanned the flame; the Bishops issued a joint pastoral against it; Convocation, despite Stanley's strenuous opposition, pronounced a "synodical condemnation" of it; and less dignified defenders of the Faith branded the Essayists as "Septem contra Christum."

In due course two of the Essayists, Dr. Rowland Williams and the Rev. H. B. Wilson, were prosecuted in the Court of Arches, by the Bishop of Salisbury and a private clergyman respectively. The Dean of the Arches, Dr. Lushington, adjudged them to be guilty of heresy in denying the inspiration of Scripture and the eternity of future punishment; whereupon they appealed to the Privy Council, which reversed the decision. The Judgment, like that in the Gorham case, did not presume to lay down the doctrine of the Church. It only decided that the language of the Essays was not repugnant to anything the Church had formally said. This verdict is not surprising when we consider how little of dogmatic statement on the two subjects in question there is in the Articles and the Prayer Book; but it caused a tremendous outcry, particularly against Bishop Tait, who concurred in the judgment of the Law Lords, while the two Archbishops, Longley and Thomson, did not. Lord Shaftesbury and Dr. Pusey struck up an effusive alliance, and the latter wrote a letter to the *Record* which the editor characterised as "faithful and admirable." Seven distinguished Oxford men, including Pusey and Archdeacon Denison on one side and Dr. J. C. Miller on the other, drew up a declaration to the effect that "the whole Catholic Church maintains without reserve or qualification the inspiration and Divine authority of the whole canonical Scriptures, as not only containing, but being, the Word of God; and further teaches . . . that the 'punishment' of the 'cursed,' equally with the 'life' of the 'righteous,' is 'everlasting.'" This was

signed within a few weeks by 11,000 clergymen; and another, by 137,000 laymen. They were sincerely loyal to the Faith; but so are multitudes now who certainly would not put their names to those exact words. The whole controversy, in fact, is now quite out of date.

For the time, there were among Church people in England scarcely any more unpopular men than Bishop Tait, who in 1868 became Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Temple, who in 1870 was appointed Bishop of Exeter. The verdict of history is very different; and, in different ways, no two Primates are more honoured.

While the Privy Council Judgment was still pending, a louder outcry than ever arose on the publication of Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch, in which he not only pronounced the early books of the Bible to be unhistorical, but avowed that he could no longer use either the Ordinal or the Baptismal Service, because they implied the contrary. Again the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation condemned the volumes; and almost all the Bishops inhibited Colenso from preaching in their dioceses.

Two more panics, though less serious ones, must be just referred to. In 1865 appeared a book entitled *Ecce Homo*, by an anonymous author, now known to have been Professor Seeley. It achieved instant success as a most striking picture of our Lord in His human nature, and assuredly it may be read with much profit; but it was regarded by many at the time as virtually denying His divinity, and Lord Shaftesbury said it was the worst book "ever vomited forth from the jaws of hell." "Yes," retorted the *Spectator*, "vomited, because it went against hell's stomach!" A few years later appeared a pretentious and seemingly very learned book entitled *Supernatural Religion*, which was supposed to destroy the historical evidence for the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament.

The Church did not meet all these attacks—or supposed attacks—on the Faith merely by declarations and condemnations. Such methods may sometimes be necessary, but they effect little. It is far more important to answer heretical statements, and thus to provide for the members of the Church generally defences that will satisfy their minds. This was not neglected in the period we are reviewing. *Essays and Reviews* was replied to in weighty volumes, edited respectively by Bishop Wilberforce and Dr. W. Thomson. The latter, *Aids to Faith*, was the more important, and is still valuable. Three of its writers

gained speedy promotion. Harold Browne and Ellicott became Bishops of Ely and Gloucester, while Thomson himself, who had been appointed to Gloucester while the book was in preparation, was translated to York. A host of minor replies to Colenso appeared; but the greatest work of the kind was Dr. Liddon's Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of our Lord, which was not designed as a direct reply to any temporary assailant, but became a standard authority on the subject. Meanwhile the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Denison, planned a Commentary on the whole Bible, which came to be known as the Speaker's Commentary. It was edited by Canon Cook, and its composition shared by many competent writers, notably by Dr. Westcott, whose Notes on St. John's Gospel at once achieved the highest possible reputation. Then *Supernatural Religion* had its fallacies ruthlessly exposed by the brilliant articles on it of Professor Lightfoot, afterwards Bishop of Durham.

In more recent years the scientific study of the Bible, and of theology, has made rapid strides. The volume entitled *Lux Mundi* (1889), in which a band of Oxford scholars, headed by Dr. Gore and Dr. Illingworth, set forth in a powerful way the doctrine of the Immanence of God, and that of the Kenosis in the human nature of Christ, caused some searchings of heart, conservative divines like Liddon condemning it mournfully. But Christian men are less liable to panics than they once were, and are more ready to hear able and thoughtful men even when they cannot see eye to eye with them. While Dutch and German critics have done their best to destroy belief in the Old Testament Scriptures, and a few in England have manifested quite curious eagerness to adopt, or invent, new and wild theories—Dr. Cheyne, for instance—most English scholars, even when holding somewhat advanced critical views regarding the origins and dates of the earlier Books, have still recognised their Divine inspiration, real though not verbal. The leading work of this school has been Dr. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. Bishop H. E. Ryle and Dean Kirkpatrick have written on more or less similar lines. (In the new century, Professor Orr of Glasgow has with great ability upheld more conservative views.) On the New Testament, Dr. Salmon of Dublin and Dr. Sanday of Oxford have held the foremost places; but in this branch of study there has been a great reaction from destructive criticism, and the best English scholar-

ship has, in a host of valuable commentaries and other works, vindicated the historic accuracy of St. Luke, the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, the true relations of St. Paul's teaching to our Lord's, and so on. Many of the younger clergy have indeed been too ready to adopt extreme critical views, and to revolutionise the older methods of teaching the Bible to the young ; but, upon the whole, the tendency is now in favour of greater caution, and unexpected illustrations of the correctness of the sacred writings in both the Old and New Testaments are continually being furnished by archæological discovery. Our own human theories may often have to give way before the advance of true learning, but we need never fear for the stability of what Gladstone called the Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH AND PUBLIC WORSHIP

1850-1900

The Tractarians and Ritual—Early Riots—Ritualist Appeal to Privy Council—E.C.U. and C.A.—Ritual Commission—Prosecutions—Public Worship Act—Ridsdale Case—Ritualists in Prison—Evangelical Action—Ecclesiastical Courts Commission—Lincoln Case—Lambeth Opinions on Incense and Reservation—Two Morals—Doctrinal Controversies—Bennett Case—Athanasian Creed.

THE history of the controversy on Ritual is a long and complicated one, and it can only be very briefly summarised in these pages. The subject has loomed so large in the public mind that other matters equally important to the real welfare of the Church have been neglected by writers of all schools. This little book has tried to observe a better proportion. Of the immense quantity of material for an account of the controversy, nothing equals in interest and value the long statement read by the present Archbishop of Canterbury to the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline in 1905 ; and this is here mainly followed, though not without frequent reference to other sources of information, and with mention of some facts not referred to by him.

The great Tractarian leaders paid little attention to questions

of Ritual. They stood for the Prayer Book ; and one of their objects was to secure a better observance of the rubrics. In so far as they touched external matters, what they pleaded for was daily service, observance of saints' days and of days of fasting and abstinence, and more exact conformity with the rules connected with the Holy Communion. Although they emphasised the continuity of the English Church before and after the Reformation, they suggested no mediæval innovations, still less those of modern Romanism ; and they did not trouble themselves about the successive Prayer Books of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. In 1851 Pusey wrote that "until the other day" he had not realized any point in the Eastward Position ; that "it certainly seemed against the rubric that the consecration [of the elements] should take place so that [the people] cannot see it" ; and he added that J. H. Newman, as long as he was in the Church of England, always took the north end. When some younger men began to talk about eucharistic vestments, Pusey deprecated the introduction of them. He thought there was more cause for "garments of mourning," and feared that wearing "handsome dresses" "would be making an idol of self while seeming to honour God and the Church." Keble never adopted them, and always opposed non-communicating attendance and the insistence on Fasting Communion. As late as 1866 Pusey wrote, "I have a thorough mistrust of the ultra-Ritualist party" ; and in 1873 he and Liddon wrote a joint letter to Mackonochie against his novel practices at St. Albans—which also vexed the generous founder of that church, Mr. J. G. Hubbard, afterwards Lord Addington.

But the younger men prevailed ; and they were encouraged by the application of the Oxford principles to architecture, music, and ritual, by the new Cambridge school of J. Mason Neale, Beresford Hope, and the Camden Society. The next half-century witnessed a continuous advance, not only in ritual, but in the views and teaching of the Ritualists.

The questions rife in the 'forties, about the surplice in the pulpit, the weekly offertory, the Prayer for the Church Militant, &c., have been already noticed in our fourth chapter. The Ritual troubles proper date from 1850. Simultaneously with the excitement about the Papal Aggression came the riots at St. Barnabas, Pimlico, a new church of which Mr. Bennett was incumbent. These, and the surplice riots at Exeter and elsewhere before referred to, led the Bishops to issue a joint pastoral directing that no unfamiliar usages be introduced against the

wishes of the congregations. Nothing was said of illegal practices. In fact, the riots had been caused either by a closer observance of the rubrics (*e.g.* reading the Church Militant Prayer when there was no Communion) or by indifferent things like the surplice in the pulpit. But the Bishops did protest against a new doctrine which was then being advocated, *viz.* that the continuity of the Church warranted the revival of pre-Reformation usages.

The first ritual case taken to the Courts was that of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, in 1854, which involved new questions, such as the cross behind the holy table, credence tables, coloured frontals, candles, and stone altars. The Consistory Court and the Arches Court condemned almost everything; but Mr. Liddell, the defendant, appealed to the Privy Council, which (1858) reversed most of the decisions, though it forbade the stone altar. Moreover the Judgment laid down the principle that under the *Ornaments Rubric* "the same dresses and the same utensils or articles used under the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. may still be used." So the first case before the Privy Council was carried thither by the Ritualists; and, upon the whole, victory justified their action. This encouraged them to go forward; and eucharistic vestments were at once introduced at several churches, notably at St. George's in the East; though the serious riots there in 1858-59 were not so much against the vestments (which only appeared at the Communion) as against the ordinary services, because they were choral. Disgraceful, however, they were, and the work (sad to say, in the name of Protestantism) of such as might be called, like the rioters at Thessalonica, "lewd fellows of the baser sort" (or, *R.V.*, "vile fellows of the rabble"); and many young Churchmen went down Sunday by Sunday "to defend the priests of the Church from Puritanical persecution."

In 1860 the English Church Union was founded; not only, in the first instance, to defend the Ritualists, but to prosecute others if necessary. In 1865 the Church Association was formed by leading Evangelicals, but so anxious were they that it should not be a partisan organisation that they refrained from appointing Lord Shaftesbury President; and when they began operations by presenting a memorial to the Primate, their spokesman on the occasion was Archdeacon Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. Then prosecutions were commenced, not at first with the view of attacking individuals, but merely to ascertain the law exactly. Leading Ritualists, in fact, had asked the

Bishops to obtain definite legal decisions, and it was expected that these, when known, would be obeyed. The result was that the Privy Council decided in almost every case against the new practices; but obedience did not follow.

In 1866 Convocation discussed these questions for the first time; and both Houses declared that "no alteration from the long-sanctioned and usual ritual ought to be made" without the bishop's sanction, an opinion endorsed in 1878 by the Lambeth Conference. But the Ritualists simply went on advancing, just as if neither the Bishops nor Convocation nor anybody else had said anything; and they produced a notable manifesto in the shape of a volume of essays entitled *The Church and the World*—the editor of which, Mr. Orby Shipley, presently went over to Rome. Their organ, too, the *Church Times*, was rapidly gaining influence, chiefly owing to the brilliant writing of Dr. Littledale.

In 1867 Lord Shaftesbury introduced into the house of Lords a Bill enjoining the use of the surplice and that only, and though it was defeated, he brought forward others with a similar object in five succeeding sessions, none of which passed. It was in lieu of his proposals that the Primate asked the Government to appoint a Royal Commission. This body, comprising the Primate (Longley), Bishops Tait, Thirlwall, and Wilberforce, Deans Goodwin and Stanley, Canon Gregory, H. Venn and T. W. Perry to represent the Evangelical and Ritualist clergy respectively, and several eminent laymen on both sides, sat for three years (1867-70), and presented four Reports. The first proposed to "restrain all variations in respect of vesture from the long-established usage," giving "aggrieved parishioners" facilities for redress; and this was signed by men of all parties. The second was against incense and lights; the third, on the Lectionary; the fourth, on rubrical revision. The only effective result, however, was the New Lectionary. With a view to action on the fourth Report, the Crown issued Letters of Business to Convocation to revise the rubrics, and seven years were occupied in doing this. At length the work was finished, and it is interesting to find that Convocation proposed an addition to the Ornaments Rubric, practically ordering the surplice to be worn at all ministrations,¹ yet leaving a loophole for other vestments if the Bishop

¹ The proposed addition was: "In saying Public Prayer and administering the Sacraments and other rites of the Church, every priest and deacon shall wear a surplice with a stole or scarf, and the hood of his degree, and in preaching he shall wear a surplice with a stole or scarf, and the hood of his

did not forbid them. How was it that nothing actually came of all this labour? Simply that the Prayer Book could not be touched without legislation, and no one wished to go to Parliament.

Meanwhile the Church Association, unwilling to await the slow decisions of Convocation, had set the "aggrieved parishioner" in motion, and actions were brought against some of the Ritualist clergy, notably Mr. Mackonochie of St. Albans, Holborn, and Mr. Purchas of St. James's, Brighton. In both these cases the Dean of the Arches, Sir R. Phillimore, acquitted the defendants on the more important points; and in both, on the Church Association appealing, the Privy Council reversed his decisions, and pronounced the Eastward Position, Vestments, Incense, Altar Lights, and several other things to be illegal. Great was the consternation, not only of the Ritualists, but of many moderate High Churchmen who had previously been against them, but who did not wish some of the practices, particularly the Eastward Position, entirely prohibited. And now arose a cry against the Judicial Committee, as a secular court which had no right to interfere in Church matters. This was quite inconsistent with the line previously taken. It was an advanced High Churchman, Mr. Liddell, who had been the first to go to the Privy Council, and his success there had enabled the Ritualists to boast that the highest legal authority was on their side. One of their most justly respected men, Canon Carter of Clewer, saw this, and wrote: "It is hardly fair now to reject the very existence of the court because the facts happen to be reversed. We cannot play fast and loose, triumphing when the court is favourable to us, utterly condemning it when unfavourable."

Dr. Tait had now (1874) been Primate six years, and he and almost all the other Bishops agreed to bring a Public Worship Regulation Bill into Parliament themselves, with two objects, *viz.* (1) to effect what Lord Shaftesbury had been aiming at, but in a less drastic way; and (2) to provide a court which High Churchmen would respect. The Bill, *inter alia*, proposed to make the Bishop sole judge, but with an appeal to the Archbishop, who might, if he thought fit, send the case on to the Privy Council; but in the House of Lords, Shaftesbury, with some of the Bishops, succeeded in altering the Bill and getting degree, or, if he thinks fit, a gown with hood and scarf; and no other ornament shall at any time of his ministration be used by him contrary to the monition of the Bishop of the diocese."

a lay judge appointed. In the House of Commons, Gladstone vehemently opposed the Bill, on the ground mainly that he had taken against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in 1851, as mentioned in our fourth chapter, viz. that legal restrictions in such cases are useless. But Disraeli, who had lately become Premier, strongly supported it as a measure "to put down Ritualism," and it passed by great majorities. From the beginning the Ritualists declared that they would not accept the new Court or the new judge; and the "P.W.R. Act," and Lord Penzance, the judge appointed under it, became the objects of indignant and contemptuous denunciation.

But the Church Association took advantage of the new Act, and the next prosecution was against Mr. Ridsdale of Folkestone, whom Lord Penzance, with the Purchas Judgment behind him, condemned for the Vestments, the Eastward Position, &c. Mr. Ridsdale appealed to the Privy Council, the very Court which was then being repudiated, hoping to get, like Mr. Liddell twenty years earlier, a more favourable decision; but the Privy Council (1877) also condemned him at all points, except that the Eastward Position was declared not illegal provided the manual acts were visible to the congregation.

And now came the grievous incidents that did so much to turn public opinion largely in favour of tolerating the Ritualists. Four clergymen got into prison, notably Mr. Green of Manchester, who remained many months in Lancaster jail. The imprisonment was not a punishment for ecclesiastical offences; the P.W.R. Act contained nothing of the kind; but Mr. Green, having refused to obey the injunctions of the Court, was arrested for contumacy. He could at any moment have come out of prison if he had promised to obey the Courts, but this he would not do, and unquestionably, by his self-denial, he effected more for his cause than any arguments could have done.

One result of these imprisonments was the withdrawal of almost all the leading Evangelicals from the Church Association. They had approved its efforts to get the law about ritual declared; but they disapproved its acquiescence in the incarceration of the Ritualists, and they formed new organisations of a more moderate kind, which are now represented by the National Church League. It was no doubt in consequence of this that for many years the *Record* strongly opposed prosecutions. That paper, in 1882, changed its shape, and its editorship, and became far more moderate than of old. The Church Association was still sup-

ported by the *Rock*, a much less dignified paper, founded in 1868; and, later, by the *English Churchman*, which had formerly been a High Church organ, but became strongly Protestant in 1884.

Meanwhile it became clear to Archbishop Tait that it was useless to expect High Churchmen to respect the existing Courts, which they objected to as deriving their authority from the State and not from the Church; and in 1881 he obtained from the Crown the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission to consider this branch of the subject. He died before it could complete its inquiries; but its Report, presented in 1884, was a valuable document, and met with approval from the best men of all parties. Unhappily, no steps were ever taken to give statutory force to its recommendations, and they need not therefore be further referred to here.

In 1883 Dr. Benson became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a thorough master of the whole history of Ritual, and presently his great knowledge was put to a test. The Church Association, in 1888, prosecuted Dr. King, Bishop of Lincoln, not in a secular court, but in the ancient Archiepiscopal Court of Canterbury, and in 1890 Benson delivered a most elaborate Judgment. On some minor points he condemned the Bishop, but the more important ones were decided in his favour. The point of greatest interest was the Eastward Position, and this Benson ruled to be legal, but not to be significant, as the Ritualists affirmed, of any particular doctrine. The Church Association appealed to the Privy Council on this and other questions, but the Archbishop's Judgment was confirmed (1892). The Judgment was welcomed as an eirenicon, and it at least led the Church Association to abandon litigation; so that a few years of peace ensued.

But the extremer Ritualists went on with their innovations, borrowing novel ceremonies from modern Rome which had no pretence to be "catholic"; insomuch that even their own leaders united in a protest against them. Good might have come of this, but suddenly on Good Friday, 1898, open war was renewed, so to speak, by Mr. John Kensit publicly interrupting one of the novel services in South Kensington; and, as is always the case, this attack rallied the whole party in resistance to what was called Protestant bigotry. The best Evangelicals cried, in effect, *Non tali auxilio*; and just at this time Lady Wimborne started the Ladies' League, to join the existing National Protestant Church

Union in fighting the Ritualists more reasonably, and more effectively, by means of lectures, publications, and educational agencies. Meanwhile Dr. Temple, who was now Primate, announced that he and the Archbishop of York (Maclagan) would be ready to hear disputes without applying to the legal tribunals; and presently the questions of the use of incense and the practice of reservation of the consecrated elements came before them. In 1899 and 1900 they decided against both; and the other Bishops issued a joint pastoral earnestly appealing for obedience—but only with partial success.

This brings the history to the end of the century, so far as the externals of public worship are concerned; but two remarks should be added. In the first place, it is right to say that Archbishop Davidson, in his Memorandum before mentioned, attributes the failure of the Bishops to restrain innovations very largely to the fact that repeatedly, just when their private influence appeared likely to be effectual, these efforts were rendered useless by unwise action outside—mentioning (1) the early riots, (2) Lord Shaftesbury's Bills, (3) the imprisonments, (4) the Kensit agitation. There seems to be reason in this; and yet it cannot be said that the intervals of peace were marked by any definite abandonment of Romanising practices. In the second place, the half-century witnessed a general advance in Church ritual which almost all parties now accept as right and good. The rubrics are far more carefully obeyed; holy-days are well observed; musical services are common, and indeed often too elaborate; surpliced choirs and the surplice in the pulpit, the weekly offertory, weekly Communion (at least), are almost universal; the very things protested against even thirty years ago have become common; and beyond dispute the Church is the stronger for it.

So far we have confined our attention to ritual only. But with regard to many of the usages revived or introduced, it was the claim not only of the Ritualists, but of a large body of *via media* men, that doctrine was involved in them. In particular, the Eastward Position was valued as a token of the priestly character of the officiating clergyman; and for the same reason it was objected to by the opposite party. The Puritans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries objected on the same ground to the surplice, and although long usage had rendered it harmless in the eyes of the Evangelical party of the nineteenth century, they resisted for a time, as before mentioned, its use in the

pulpit. In these and many other cases there had come in the later years of the century to be a general agreement that doctrine, whether true or false, was not really involved. So far, the same agreement has not been come to as regards Eucharistic Vestments, which are avowedly advocated—quite apart from the legal question of the meaning of the *Ornaments Rubric*—as a recognition of the doctrine of the sacrificial character of the Holy Communion. And many other of the usages introduced by High Churchmen were more or less associated with that doctrine, and with the doctrine of the Real Presence.

In fact, the principal controversy between the opposing Church parties had shifted gradually from one Sacrament to the other. In the middle of the century Baptism had been the bone of contention. In the later years the Lord's Supper largely superseded it. And while differing views on this subject affected men's ideas about ritual, the doctrine itself became a chief subject, not only of controversy by voice and pen, but of argument before the Courts. Quite early in the half-century Archdeacon Denison was charged before the Archbishop of Canterbury for certain statements in public sermons, and condemned; but the sentence depriving him of his office was upset by a legal technicality (1858). Much more serious was the case of Mr. Bennett, the same whose ritual at St. Barnabas, Pimlico, had caused the earliest difficulties, and who now had a parish in Somerset. In a published *Plea for Toleration* he spoke of the "real, actual, and *visible* Presence," and said, "I adore, and teach the people to adore, the consecrated elements . . . believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of Christ." The Dean of the Arches, Sir R. Phillimore, decided that the word "visible," and the adoration of "the elements," were illegal; but in a later edition Mr. Bennett had omitted the word "visible," and substituted for the other words "to adore Christ present in the form of bread and wine," and on this account he was acquitted. On the appeal to the Privy Council the acquittal was confirmed, on the express ground that the prosecution being a penal one, he was entitled to the benefit of any doubt; and the Court, while considering even his modified language "perilously near a violation of the law," decided, "not without doubts," that the charge was "not so clearly made out as the rules which govern penal proceedings require"; and they did not allow him his costs. The effect was, scarcely to allow, but at least to secure against condemnation, a very wide range of opinion on this sacred subject.

Two of the practices of the advanced party, Auricular Confession and Invocation of Saints, do not naturally come into this chapter, which is concerned with public worship ; but it must be added that they also have caused anxious controversy.

One more controversy touching public worship, but supposed to involve doctrine, must be mentioned—that on the Athanasian Creed. Objections to the “damnatory” or “warning” clauses have always been felt by many, and in 1872 the question became a burning one. Some proposed omitting these clauses ; others, either the omission of the rubric ordering the recitation of the Creed or the substitution in that rubric of the word “may” for “shall” ; and the two Archbishops (Tait and Thomson) promised relief in some way to scrupulous consciences. But almost the whole High Church party vehemently opposed any alteration whatever, Pusey and Liddon threatening to resign their offices in the Church if the Creed were “tampered with” ; and eventually nothing was done except the issue of a “synodical declaration” by Convocation, deprecating what plain men understand as the meaning of the clauses in question. It remains true, however, (1) that vast numbers who hold firmly to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation as expounded in the Creed, object to the public recitation of the “warning clauses,” which they regard as going beyond Scripture ; and (2) that the Irish and American Churches, integral portions of the Anglican Communion, have dropped the recitation without any reflection on the Church’s Faith.

CHAPTER X THE CHURCH AND PARLIAMENT

1858-1900

Varied Church Legislation—Ritual Questions—Church Rates, Burials, &c.—Education Acts and Controversies—Irish Church Disestablishment—Church and State Questions.

OUR third chapter noticed several of the Acts of Parliament affecting the Church which were passed in the first half of the century ; and in subsequent chapters other Acts have been mentioned, notably the Jerusalem Bishopric Act, the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, and Lord Shaftesbury’s Factory Acts and Religious

Worship Act. We must now briefly review the action of Parliament in Church matters during later years.

I. First let us notice some Acts which have caused little controversy, and which have been generally regarded as benefiting the Church.

In 1865 an Act was passed to relieve burdened consciences by amending the Act of Uniformity of 1662 so far as Clerical Subscription is concerned. The clergy do not now declare their "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything" in the Prayer Book, but only "assent" to it, express "belief" in its doctrine, and undertake to "use the Form prescribed and none other," except under "lawful authority."

In 1868 Bishop Wilberforce got a Bill through conferring the title of Vicar on all beneficed clergymen other than rectors.

In 1871 an Act was passed adopting the New Lectionary before mentioned.

Several Acts have been passed for the formation of new dioceses.

In 1871, and again in 1887, Incumbents' Resignation Acts were passed, arranging for pensions for retiring clergymen.

In 1872 the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act authorised shortened services in church within certain limits. This has been widely taken advantage of, and some bishops have gone considerably beyond it in authorising special services.

In 1892 the Clergy Discipline Act prescribed the procedure in cases of clerical offences other than such as involve doctrine or ritual. This has enabled cases of scandal to be dealt with.

From 1886 onward, Archbishop Benson, assisted by Mr. (now Sir Lewis) Dibdin, was endeavouring to obtain legislation to remedy the evils connected with the Patronage system. His task proved very difficult, his Bills being again and again shelved through the opposition of the agents who trade in advowsons, backed by a section of the Evangelicals who objected to give more power to bishops. Refuse to strengthen the bishops' hands and then blame them for inaction—that is the policy of some short-sighted Churchmen. At last the Benefices Bill of 1898 did effect reforms that are valuable but still inadequate; but Benson did not live to see even this partial success.

II. Many attempts have been made to deal with the Ritual Controversy by Act of Parliament, but all these have failed. Lord Shaftesbury's successive but unsuccessful Bills were alluded to in the preceding chapter; also the Public Worship Regulation

Act of 1874, which, although it was passed, effected nothing, or at least nothing that was good. In later years various Bills were introduced, proposing more or less drastic legislation; but none of them got through the House of Commons. A very different measure was submitted to the House of Lords by Bishop Jackson, which might have proved useful had it become law. It provided that schemes dealing with the internal affairs of the Church might, when adopted by Convocation, be legalised as Canons of the Church instead of as Acts of Parliament, such schemes to be laid on the tables of Lords and Commons for forty days, and, if not then objected to, pass into law. This would prevent the discussion of the details of the Prayer Book in Parliament, an obviously undesirable thing. This Bill, however, was not persevered with; and even if it had been, it would have had little chance of passing the House of Commons.

III. Next let us take the more controversial Bills designed to meet the grievances of Nonconformists.

1. For many years attempts had been made to abolish Church Rates, the impost which had been paid for many centuries for the maintenance of the parish church. What was just when the whole population belonged to the one national Church not unnaturally caused a sense of injustice when people had to pay for the support of a body to which they did not belong. Successive Bills failed to pass either the Commons or the Lords; but in 1868 Gladstone brought in one to abolish *compulsory* rates, leaving liberty for *voluntary* rates, and this was passed, with the result that Church Rates ceased almost everywhere.

2. In 1871 the Universities Tests Act abolished almost all the restrictions which still remained to the admission of Nonconformists to all rights and privileges at Oxford and Cambridge. This also was the work of Gladstone.

3. In 1880 the Burials Act abolished the exclusive right of the Anglican clergy to conduct burials in consecrated churchyards, allowed them to be performed with any "Christian and orderly service," or without any service at all, and also sanctioned burials by the clergy themselves in unconsecrated ground. This, another of Gladstone's achievements, was most strenuously opposed, and caused widespread alarm among Church people; but few Acts have more distinctly resulted in peace and harmony.

The Education Acts were also, in one respect, designed to meet Nonconformist grievances; but their main purpose being educational, they may be taken separately.

IV. We saw in our second and third chapters the beginnings of the modern system of Elementary Education. In the middle of the century progress was very slow. The clergy, backed by the National Society, were building schools and caring for large numbers of children ; but they disliked the official inspection which was a condition of Government grants, and they absolutely refused to insert a conscience clause in the trust-deeds. They desired the parochial schools to take all the children in the parish, and to give them all Church teaching ; and Dissenting parents had to submit, or to leave their children without schooling. This was a real Nonconformist grievance ; and the undenominational British Schools were too few for them, and only in the towns.

At length, in 1858, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the whole subject ; and its Report, in 1861, revealed the imperfections, and the inadequacy, of the existing system. Thereupon Robert Lowe, the Minister for Education, issued a "Revised Code" of regulations, embodying a method of "payment by results," the grants being only made on the inspectors' reports. This led to a violent controversy ; and two Societies were formed, the Education Union on the Church side and the Education League on the Nonconformist side, which divided the sympathies of the country. The League, under the pressure of the religious difficulty, went so far as to advocate the exclusion of the Bible itself from all schools assisted by the State. In 1870, W. E. Forster, Minister of Education in the Gladstone Government, brought in his famous Education Bill, which pleased neither side, and underwent considerable modification in its course through Parliament, but eventually passed with the approval of most men not extreme partisans. Its principal provisions were : (1) School attendance was made compulsory ; (2) School Boards were authorised, with power to levy local rates for the building and support of Board Schools ; (3) Government grants were to be given to both Board Schools and Church (or other denominational) Schools, on conditions of efficiency ; (4) Church (or other denominational) Schools might give their own religious instruction, subject to a Conscience Clause, *i.e.* parents might withdraw their children from the religious lessons ; (5) School Boards might give what religious instruction they liked (subject to the same clause), or none at all, but "no religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination" might be taught in Board Schools ; (6) Government inspectors were not to examine

in the religious teaching. The fifth of these provisions was moved by Mr. Cowper-Temple, afterwards Lord Mount-Temple; hence the phrase "Cowper-Temple Clause," which, be it observed, laid down no course of teaching—Romanism or Unitarianism, for instance, might be taught under it—but only forbade regular formularies.

The result was the formation of a great number of Boards, the erection of commodious Board Schools, and the general improvement of education. A few Boards excluded all religious teaching, but the great majority followed the example of the London Board, and adopted a system of instruction based on the Bible, and avoiding denominational differences. Church Schools also multiplied year by year, although handicapped by having no rate aid, as the Board Schools had; and in thirty years, by the end of the century, they had nearly doubled in number, and were instructing more than double the number of children. Meanwhile the Nonconformist grievance remained in the country parishes where there were no Board Schools, and where Dissenting parents had either to accept Church teaching for their children or deprive them of religious instruction in the school altogether. And so the position remained when the century closed: the Church complaining of the competition of the rate-aided Board Schools, and the Nonconformists complaining of the predominance of the Church in rural districts. The principal change within the century was the adoption by Lord Salisbury's Government of the principle of Free Education, extra State grants being made to replace the fees previously paid by the parents; but this did not touch the religious question. (See further, the last chapter.)

V. The most important of all the Acts of Parliament affecting the Church passed in the whole century was that for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church. The union of that Church with the Church of England in 1801 was mentioned in our first chapter, and the dealings of Parliament with it in the 'thirties in our third chapter. What brought it under public notice again was the Fenian movement of 1866-67. Men asked what could be done to pacify Roman Catholic Ireland; and the fact that the Protestant Church was the Church of a small minority led many to think that to abolish its privileges and take its old endowments might help to give peace to that distracted country. Lord Derby's Government, then in power, had a counter scheme of concurrent endowment, that is of grants in some form to the Roman Church which would lift it to a more

equal position ; but Gladstone, in 1868, carried resolutions in favour rather of disestablishment. The general election of that year turned entirely on this question, and put Gladstone in power with a large majority ; and in 1869 his Bill was introduced. It passed the Commons almost without amendment ; and the Lords, under the advice of Lord Salisbury, gave it a second reading, and then struggled for amendments in Committee. Eventually the Queen had to interpose, through Archbishop Tait, and the Bill was passed.

The whole period of the discussion of the subject was a painful one. The Bill was regarded as both sacrilege and spoliation, as destroying the national profession of religion and tampering with the rights of property ; and, further, as a disgraceful surrender to a combination of Radicalism and Romanism. But the two English Archbishops (Tait and Thomson), and Bishop S. Wilberforce, declined to vote against it, convinced both that it was an act of justice and that, as regards terms, no better than Gladstone offered would ever be obtained. Bishop Magee of Peterborough delivered against it what very high authorities regarded as the most powerful speech made in either House in Victoria's reign ; but it was not generally known till long afterwards that he had previously urged with all his might the acceptance of the Bill.

The results of this great measure were sixfold :—(1) The Irish Church lost all the privileges of “establishments,” including the four seats occupied by its Bishops in the House of Lords ; (2) its tithes and other endowments were transferred to the State, subject to life interests ; (3) a Representative Church Body was formed, (a) to frame a new constitution for the Church, and (b) to take over churches, schools, &c., and such endowments as were to remain ; (4) this body did its financial work so well that a valuable nucleus was secured for a great Sustentation Fund ; (5) the General Synod formed under the new constitution became a successful governing body of the Church ; (6) the difficult task of revising the Prayer Book was happily accomplished. One result was not achieved : Ireland was not pacified or rendered more loyal. But the Church has given to the world a splendid object-lesson in the way of making the best of a difficult position ; and its faithfulness to the truth of God has brought upon it His abundant blessing.

Many English Churchmen supported the disestablishment of the Irish Church in its peculiar circumstances who were in no

way disposed to agree to the same fate falling on the English Church, which occupies so different a position. But the Non-conformists regarded "Establishment" as in itself wrong, and they looked forward to the day when the Church of England should receive similar treatment. This feeling did not necessarily imply any hostility to the Anglican Church itself, but only to its exceptional privileges, and the leading organisation for pushing the cause was called the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Control, or, for short, the Liberation Society—as though it were designed to do the Church a great favour. In 1885 there was a general election, and the *Record* published a long list of candidates ready to vote for Disestablishment, which it was thought that Mr. Chamberlain, then the leader of the extremer Radicals, would presently aim at. In 1894 Lord Rosebery's Ministry brought in a Bill to disestablish and disendow the Church in Wales; but this fell through owing to the defeat and resignation of the Government. Meanwhile the Church has grown stronger and stronger, and even if in the future it should have to meet the great change, it will be prepared to emulate the brave spirit of its Irish sister.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH'S FOREIGN MISSIONS

1863-1900

The Discouraging 'Sixties—Day of Intercession—General Revival—Events of the Epoch in Asia and Africa—The India Missions—The 'Eighties a Period of Advance—The "Cambridge Seven"—Gordon and Hannington—African Progress—The Colonial Churches—Palestine, Persia, India, China, Japan, &c.—Centenaries—Boards of Missions.

OUR fifth chapter brought the history of the Church's work abroad down to the death of Bishop Mackenzie and other events of the earlier 'sixties, and the solution of Colonial Church difficulties. In resuming the story, it is important to note that the decade 1863-72 was, upon the whole, a discouraging period. In Africa the new Universities' Mission was at a standstill, though Bishop Tozer moved its head-quarters to Zanzibar; the C.M.S. East Africa Mission was almost defunct; South Africa was con-

vulsed with the Colenso controversy ; and the only hopeful events were the beginnings of native Church organisation at Sierra Leone, and the consecration of the first African bishop, Samuel Crowther. In India, although there has never been a time when so many of the British civil and military rulers were earnest Christian men, the Missions were crippled for lack of missionaries ; and the untimely death of Bishop Cotton, drowned in the Ganges in 1866, put an end to an admirable episcopate, and to some of his plans for the development of the Indian Church. China Missions were still in their early stage. Japan was in the struggles of its infancy as a modern nation, and although the American Church had been the first to attempt the difficult task of preaching there a religion hated and proscribed since the Jesuit Missions of the sixteenth century, her sister English Church only supported her by sending one man in 1869. North-west Canada was still the Great Lone Land, although C.M.S. missionaries were dotted about its vast plains and snow-fields. New Zealand was troubled by wars, though the Maori Christians trusted Bishop Selwyn and behaved splendidly ; and Patteson, who was consecrated Bishop for the Melanesian Islands in 1861, and laboured there devotedly for several years, was murdered in 1871 in revenge for the outrages of wicked white traders, leaving a bright example which has drawn many to mission service. The one mission-field in the world where all seemed bright was Madagascar, where the Church Missions (S.P.G. and, for a time, C.M.S.), generously invited by the L.M.S. to come and help to reap the great harvest, were begun with every token of blessing.

At home the same decade was a period of slackness, and even, as regards both men and money, of retrogression. At length the S.P.G. proposed the general observance of a Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions ; and on December 20, 1872, cathedrals and churches were thronged with praying people. The newspapers were surprised and perplexed. Who, asked the *Times*, ever saw either a missionary or a convert ? Surely by this time, it said, there ought to be native Christians to produce ; but were there any ? People who joined in so useless and fatuous an observance must be simple souls indeed ! Nevertheless, it is indisputable that from that day the tide turned. Candidates for missionary service came forward ; contribution lists revived ; interest everywhere was quickened ; and a period of development and extension began, which lasted to the close of the century, and still continues.

It is literally the case that definite advance in many of the great mission-fields dates from that time. Thus :—

1. That great Church statesman, Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Machray of Rupert's Land, obtained the division of his enormous diocese into four. The first of the new bishops, Horden of Moosonee, was consecrated in Westminster Abbey only five days before the Day of Intercession ; and the consecration of the heroic Bishop Bompas soon followed.

2. At that same consecration in the Abbey, the first bishopric on the mainland of China came into existence, Russell, an experienced C.M.S. missionary, being the first bishop, and dividing the supervision of the Missions with the Colonial Bishop of Victoria, Hong-Kong. At the same time the S.P.G. began its work in North China, which resulted, a few years later, in further division, G. E. Moule (C.M.S.) and C. P. Scott (S.P.G.) becoming Bishops of Mid China and North China respectively.

3. That same epoch also marks the real commencement of missionary work in Japan ; for it was only in 1872 that the public notices prohibiting Christianity were removed, after lasting 250 years. Both C.M.S. and S.P.G. sent men out in 1873-74, three of whom, Evington, Foss, and Fyson, became bishops twenty years later.

4. The Bishopric of the Falkland Isles, established for the supervision of the South American Missionary Society's work, dates from 1869, and Bishop Stirling was now beginning to gather fruit from the seed so painfully sown.

5. In Persia, Dr. R. Bruce had lately begun work, and the Mission was adopted by the C.M.S. in 1875.

6. The Bishopric of Madagascar was founded in 1874, and the S.P.G. Mission went on with increased success.

7. In South Africa, the Zululand bishopric had been founded as a memorial to Bishop Mackenzie in 1870, and the Bishopric of St. John's, Kaffraria, followed in 1873 for a territory in which Missions among the Kaffirs were promising ; T. E. Wilkinson and H. Callaway being consecrated for the two dioceses.

8. But the epoch was most remarkable in regard to East and Central Africa. An event of commanding influence occurred within six months of the first Day of Intercession. David Livingstone died at Ilala on May 3, 1873. But the fact was not known in England until February 1874, and meanwhile steps had been taken towards the suppression of the East African Slave Trade, the cruelties and miseries of which he had

revealed. Sir Bartle Frere had been sent by Mr. Gladstone to negotiate a treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar, and on his return had sought to arouse interest in the Dark Continent. The news of Livingstone's death, and the burial of his body in Westminster Abbey, supplied the needed impetus ; and modern missionary extension in East and Central Africa began, further stimulated presently by the travels and appeals of Stanley. At Frere's request the old C.M.S. Mission at Mombasa was revived. The new Bishop of the Universities Mission, Dr. Steere (1874), infused fresh life into that enterprise, and extended its work largely on the mainland. And then, in 1875, came Stanley's memorable letter from Uganda, and (1876) the C.M.S. Mission in response.

Missions in India did not have in those years so exciting a history, but they shared in the advance of the work all along the line. The S.P.G. and C.M.S. both extended their operations ; the S.P.G. in Assam, Chota Nagpur, and the Delhi district ; the C.M.S. among the hill-tribes and on the North-west Frontier ; and both Societies in the Telugu districts and Tinnevelly. Two University Missions became affiliated to the S.P.G., Cambridge furnishing a band of men for Delhi (1877), and Dublin a band for Chota Nagpur (later, 1891) ; while Oxford sent an independent Mission to Calcutta (1880), and the Cowley Fathers opened work in the Bombay Presidency (1877). Important educational work was undertaken, in the form both of Colleges and High Schools for non-Christians and of Divinity Schools for the training of clergy ; and Indian Christian graduates of the Calcutta and Madras Universities presently began to take good places in the Oxford and Cambridge Examinations for Orders. Medical Missions were developed, particularly on the North-west Frontier. Women's work was largely increased, the Church of England Zenana Society (from 1880) and the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission taking a leading share, and the S.P.G. having also its own Women's Branch. In 1877, to the three old bishoprics of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, were added Lahore for the Punjab and Rangoon for Burma ; the first Bishop of Lahore being Valpy French, one of the most distinguished missionaries the Church of England has given to India, who had founded for the C.M.S. St. John's College at Agra, St. John's Divinity College at Lahore, and the Trans-Indus Mission. The see of Travancore and Cochin—another C.M.S. field—was founded in 1879.

If the 'seventies were a period of advance, still more so were the 'eighties and 'nineties. Many developments marked the period at home: Missionary Exhibitions, Missionary Missions, Missionary Bands and Guilds and Unions for men and women and children. The C.M.S. Clergy Union (1885) was followed by the much larger S.P.G. Junior Clergy Association (1891); and the Gleaners' Union (1886) became the prototype of many similar organisations. Missionary books multiplied, publishers, who had always refused to print what nobody wanted, finding there was now a brisk market for them. The interest of women in Foreign Missions developed to a remarkable extent; and their work for the cause at home naturally resulted in the call for personal service abroad appealing to very many.

Three events of 1885 made a profound impression on the public mind. The first was the going forth to China of seven men, Cambridge graduates and military officers, including the stroke oar of the University boat and the captain of the University eleven, in connection with the China Inland Mission. In the next few years, partly as a result of their influence, Cambridge contributed a great many recruits for the mission-field, particularly to the C.M.S. In one year, 1890, twenty-four were added to its roll; and the supply continued good to the end of the century.

The two other events were deaths in Africa: first the fall of General Gordon at Khartoum, and then the murder of Bishop Hannington. Both seemed the crushing of many hopes for the Dark Continent; yet before the end of the century the Uganda Protectorate and that of the Eastern Sudan not only revived those hopes, but went far towards fulfilling them. Bishop Tucker, going out in 1890, found a rapidly growing Church in Uganda, despite the persecutions and massacres of the converts; and year by year he confirmed large numbers of well-instructed Christians, and ordained over thirty picked men to the ministry of the Church. But it was not till the closing year of the century that a Mission could be cautiously begun in the Sudanese city where Gordon fell—an extension of the C.M.S. Egypt Mission which had been undertaken in 1882. (The Khartoum bishopric and cathedral belong to the new century.)

In 1895 and 1899 the two missionary dioceses in East Africa became four, two C.M.S. and two U.M.C.A. The latter Mission lost Bishop Smythies at sea in 1894, and Bishop Maples by drowning in Lake Nyasa in 1895; but Bishops Richardson and

Hine continued the work. (It is remarkable that all four dioceses have cathedrals, three of them built since 1900. Those of Likoma and Uganda were the work of native Christians; that at Mombasa is a memorial to Bishops Hannington and Parker; and that at Zanzibar, the first of the four, stands on the site of the old slave-market.)

In West Africa, also, the last decade of the century witnessed definite advance. An intrepid attempt, by J. A. Robinson and Graham Wilmot Brooke, to carry the Gospel into Hausaland and the Sudan came to an end with the death of them both (1890-92); but Bishop Tugwell succeeded in starting a Mission in Hausaland just as the century closed; and he has since, with the help of three Negro Assistant-Bishops, organised the whole diocese of Western Equatorial Africa. (That diocese and Sierra Leone now have together eighty African clergymen, and raise £20,000 a year for their own purposes.)

In South Africa, the Missions, always advancing northwards towards the Zambesi, added Mashonaland and Lebombo to the bishoprics of the Province in 1891-92. The troubles in Natal, issue of the Colenso case, lasted long, but were eventually overcome through the patience of successive bishops. The ten dioceses became well organised under the primacy and wise leadership of Bishop W. W. Jones of Capetown. The day came when Kaffir clergy and lay delegates sat with white men in the Synods of Grahamstown and St. John's; and on the sites of desperate fighting in the Zulu War of 1879 arose a handsome church and a theological college.

In the other great self-governing Colonies the Church gradually perfected its organisation. Australia formed its General Synod in 1872. (It has now three provinces, with sixteen dioceses; and five other dioceses, extra-provincial.) The Australian Church undertook the New Guinea Mission in 1891, and gave it a bishop in 1898. It also works among the aborigines of its own territories and the Chinese immigrants, helps the Melanesian Mission, and sends missionaries to Asia and Africa in connection with the C.M.S. The New Zealand Church, which was organised much earlier, in Selwyn's time, does similar work among the Maori people, and also has Melanesia as its special mission-field. Canada has advanced year by year, particularly since its widely separated sections became physically united by the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885. In 1887 Rupert's Land became an ecclesiastical Province, and in 1893 the General Synod

for the whole Canadian Church was formed, representing twenty dioceses (now twenty-three). This includes British Columbia with its four dioceses, one of which, Caledonia, is famous for the great work of Bishop Ridley (1879-1902), and the romance of the Red Indian Missions whose centre is Metlakatla. The Canadian Church carries on its own Missions to the Red-men, and in Japan and China, and sends men also to C.M.S. fields.

We turn to Asia again. In 1887 Archbishop Benson revived the Jerusalem bishopric, and appointed Dr. Blyth to the see. His work, and that of the L.J.S. among the Jews, and that of the C.M.S. among the Mohammedans, have much developed. Anglican influence has been useful also to the Oriental Churches ; and Benson sent a Mission to the Assyrian Christians on the borders of the Turkish Empire and Persia. In Persian cities, and at Baghdad on the Tigris, C.M.S. Medical Missions have done good service. Arabia was consecrated in 1891 by the death at Muscat of Bishop French, who had resigned the see of Lahore to work among the Moslems of Western Asia.

The episcopate in India has been increased by the formation, in 1893-1900, of the sees of Lucknow, Chota Nagpur, and Tinnevelly (also, in 1902, that of Nagpur). Although complete Church organisation has not yet been found possible in the peculiar circumstances of India, the bishops have had their own regular meetings, and in several dioceses Diocesan Conferences have been started. Ceylon, with its one diocese of Colombo, is included in the ecclesiastical Province ; but it differs from India in having been "disestablished" in 1885, and having then formed a free constitution.

In China another new bishopric was formed in 1895, for the great Western Province of Si-chuan ; the bishop appointed being W. W. Cassels, one of the "Cambridge Seven" of the China Inland Mission. The extensive pioneer work of that Mission had done much to open up the country ; and its chief, Hudson Taylor, is one of the heroes of missionary history. Missions generally made rapid progress in China ; but the century closed with a terrible event, the massacres of missionaries and their families (188 in all), and of native Christians, in the summer of 1900. Up to that time the newspapers had mostly doubted the existence of Christian Chinese ; but no one has doubted it since so many then died rather than deny their Lord. (The great awakening of China in regard to Western civilisation belongs to the new century ; and so does the further extension of the epis-

copate, four bishoprics having been added, making, with two of the American Church, ten of the Anglican Communion.)

Korea received an Anglican Mission, under Bishop Corfe, in 1889-90. The field is most promising.

In 1883 Archbishop Benson sent out the first bishop to Japan, A. W. Poole, C.M.S. missionary in India. On his early death, Edward Bickersteth, head of the Cambridge Delhi Mission (S.P.G.), was chosen; and it was chiefly under his inspiration, with the aid of the American bishop, that the Church was organised more speedily than in any other mission-field—the Nippon Sei-kokwai (Holy Church of Japan) beginning its career of self-government in 1887. In 1894-96 the one diocese was divided into four, the three Japan missionaries before named being appointed to them; making, with two American bishops, six in all. Japan has proved a field of deep interest. Other Missions have converts in high positions in the State.

In the closing years of the century Society after Society celebrated its centenary or bi-centenary: the S.P.C.K. in 1898, the C.M.S. and the R.T.S. in 1899, the S.P.G. in 1900-1. (Also the Bible Society in 1904, and the Jews' Society—which had been doing patient work, with many signs of the Divine blessing, throughout the century—in 1908.) The S.P.G. bi-centenary was marked by two important incidents. First, the Marquis of Salisbury, at the principal meeting in June 1900, delivered a weighty speech which, while acknowledging the prejudice against Missions common among statesmen and diplomatists, powerfully vindicated them as the great duty of the Church. Secondly, on the retirement of the Secretary, Prebendary Tucker, when the commemoration was over, Bishop Montgomery of Tasmania was invited to return to England and take the vacant post (which, in the new century, has proved to be a really great event).

The whole cause of Missions has received a great impetus through the Student Volunteer Movement, which has led large numbers of University and College students to dedicate their lives to the work of God abroad. The Anglican Societies owe to it many recruits.

Meanwhile, and lastly, an important step had been taken in the 'eighties by Archbishop Benson, towards laying upon the Church the solemn duty of evangelising the world. In 1887 he formed a Board of Missions for the Province of Canterbury; and, soon after, York followed suit. The function of the Boards was not to supersede but to encourage and help the

Societies actually doing the work, particularly by emphasising the responsibility lying upon every Churchman—indeed upon every Christian—to take a definite share in the great enterprise. (In the new century the United Boards have been formed into a great Central Board, which promises to do very useful service; while the Diocesan Boards, which have been generally formed, have been singularly successful in bringing together large numbers of people for united meetings and intercession services.)

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH'S LEADERS

1870-1900

Bishop Wilberforce—Archbishops Tait, Benson, Temple—Bishops Creighton, Magee, MacLagan, Wilkinson—Learned Bishops—Men of Affairs—Evangelical Bishops—The Deans: Church, &c.—Liddon, Gore, &c.—Biblical Scholars—High and Low Churchmen—Leading Laymen.

CONSIDERING how much the history of a nation or a Church, or any kind of society or community, depends upon the men who are its leaders, it will be well to devote a chapter to brief notices of some of the most eminent of the Bishops who guided the Church of England during the later years of the century, and also of some of the more distinguished of the other clergy and of the laity—distinguished for prominence of position, or weight of personality, or wisdom in council, or power of intellect, or influence of voice or pen.

In a previous chapter we saw a little of the high reputation gained by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford as “the Remodeller of the Episcopate.” There is no doubt that he was much disappointed at not being appointed to the primatial See of Canterbury; but he had no chance with either Palmerston or Disraeli, or indeed with Queen Victoria herself, willingly, and Gladstone, who might have persuaded the Queen, was not in office when an opportunity arose; so that the leader of the High Church party had to put up with two Archbishops distinctly inferior to himself in ability, Sumner and Longley, and with what he regarded as the too cautious Erastianism of Tait. Still, his great influence lasted to the end; and as Bishop of Winchester—to which see

Gladstone translated him—he was less of a party man than he had been at Oxford. His last public words to his clergy were a warning against the teachings of the extreme men. He was killed by a fall from his horse in 1873.

The three Archbishops of Canterbury of our period were all distinguished men, though very different. Tait was more trusted by the laity than by the clergy. He got the ear of the House of Lords as few bishops have done. He had been a strong opponent of the Tractarians in his younger days at Oxford; he carried on the Arnold traditions at Rugby; of his memorable London work a previous chapter has spoken; as Primate he was a resisting force against the general High Church movement headed by Bishop Wilberforce, as well as against the extremer Ritualistic movement, though on his dying bed he devised a plan to save Mackonochie of St. Albans, Holborn, from the clutches of the law. He illustrated a point made in our first chapter, being distinctly a “Low Churchman” yet not of the Evangelical party. If he is to be “ticketed” at all he must be called Broad.

Archbishop Benson, on the contrary, was emphatically an ecclesiastic; not a narrow one by any means, but with a high idea of the greatness of the Anglican Church as a branch of the Church Catholic. It was acutely remarked when he succeeded to the Primacy, that while Tait and Benson were “equally desirous that the Church should be national, the one was willing that the nation should mould the Church, while the other would have the Church mould the nation.” Tait was called the Archbishop of the Laity, meaning by the laity the British public; but Benson did more than Tait to bring the lay members of the Church forward. He established the House of Laymen; and he supported in Convocation proposals to sanction lay preaching in churches. He was a brave man, and could on occasion move in a direction just opposite to that which High Churchmen desired: for example, he revived the Jerusalem bishopric in the teeth of their vehement protests. The present writer gratefully recalls his constant interest in the work of the C.M.S., and his really beautiful sympathy in the trials that from time to time beset it.

Archbishop Temple was a totally different personality. While Benson was the most courteous—one might say courtly—of men, Temple was the ideal of rugged strength; but beneath the rough exterior there was the kindest of hearts, that could truly sympathise with all that was genuine, while intolerant of all shams. Alike as Bishop of Exeter (1870-85), as Bishop of

London (1885-96), and as Primate, he was most deeply respected. Three causes claimed his keenest interest, viz. Education, Temperance, and Foreign Missions; and he never, if he could help it, declined an invitation to speak for either of the last two. Whether his generously leaving the Ritualists in his diocese to do as they liked was a wise course was questioned by many, and certainly it caused trouble to his successors; but his personal practice was steadfastly the other way, as, for example, he never would adopt the Eastward Position, even in churches where no other usage was known.

The biographies of Tait, Benson, and Temple are all indispensable to the student of English Church history in the century, but the latter two books have their limitations, *e.g.* not a word in the one indicates the close friendship of Benson with the C.M.S. and in the other the only reference to Temple's devotion to Foreign Missions is a paragraph quoted from a magazine article by the present writer. But the biography of Temple's successor in the see of London is a brilliant work, as indeed might be expected from Mrs. Creighton.

Bishop Creighton was, in fact, more emphatically a many-sided man than either of the three Primates. He had more parochial experience; and, in a very different sense, he was a man of the world, ready to enjoy the best sections of London society. He was a scholar and an author, and yet he developed unusual administrative powers. His pleasantly satirical vein was not always understood—for instance, neither by the Ritualists whose doing he tried hard to “regulate,” nor by Mr. Kensit, with whom he in vain tried to make friends. The spiritual side of his nature was not so conspicuous as in some men, but it was warmly testified to by rather exacting judges after his death.

Bishop Creighton's predecessor at Peterborough was the eloquent Dr. Magee, a speaker remorseless in his logic and brilliant in his rhetoric, to whose great speech in the House of Lords on the Irish Church question reference has already been made. His reputation had been gained before in that critical audience by an incisive vindication of Foreign Missions; and in the Church, by his sermon at the Dublin Church Congress of 1868, when, in the name of his Irish fellow-Churchmen, he appealed to their “partners in the other ship” (the English Church) “to come and help them”—disestablishment being then in the air. Magee was translated to York on Archbishop Thomson's death in 1891, but died in a few months. His

reputation was not enhanced by his *Letters*, the publication of which was not a very kind action on the part of the friend to whom he had written them.

His successor at York was Bishop MacLagan of Lichfield, one of the most universally respected clergymen in England. As a parish priest in South London and at Kensington, with whom spiritual things always stood first, he had done admirable work ; and as a conciliatory speaker at Church Congresses he had often poured oil on troubled waters. With him must be mentioned his close friend and fellow-worker in Parochial Missions and the like, Bishop G. H. Wilkinson of Truro. Few clergymen have rivalled Wilkinson's work at St. Peter's, Eaton Square, where he preached conversion and the spiritual life to the "Upper Ten" with extraordinary success. His great achievement at Truro was the erection of the cathedral, the first built in England since the Reformation. In his later years his deep spirituality and longing for union among Christians gave him great influence as Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church. His devotional books have done much to help devout Church folk—as also have the works of another bishop not unlike him in general type, Walsham How, who, after strenuous labours in the East End of London as the first Suffragan Bishop there, was appointed to be the first Bishop of the new diocese of Wakefield.

Among the more learned of the Bishops, in addition to Creighton, must be named the Wordsworths, father and son, of Lincoln and Salisbury—the former's Commentaries have been alluded to before ; Harold Browne, of Ely and Winchester, and Ellicott of Gloucester, both of whom owed their promotion to their literary work in defence of the Faith, in addition to which Harold Browne gave a boon to all theological students by his Exposition of the Articles ; Perowne of Worcester, editor of the admirable Cambridge Bible for Schools and author of the best Commentary on the Psalms ; Stubbs of Oxford, whose massive works on English Constitutional History have become classical ; and, above all, the two great Bishops of Durham, Lightfoot and Westcott, who, with their friend Dr. Hort, constituted the famous Cambridge trio. Their influence on the Church has been immense. Their New Testament Commentaries are in the very first rank. They were the chief promoters of the Revised Version of the Bible. They may be said to have founded a school of thought, neither "high" nor "low," but reverent, scholarly, earnest. Differing greatly in style, Lightfoot

is lucidity itself, while Westcott was enough of a mystic to be sometimes obscure ; but then he understood St. John as no other writer has done. As bishops, Westcott was distinctly the greater. His Christian Socialism made him sympathise with the Durham miners, and they thoroughly believed in him. Lastly, he gave four sons to Indian Missions.

Among bishops who have been emphatically "men of affairs," Harvey Goodwin of Carlisle would take a leading place. He was far more than the head of a diocese. He worked for the whole Church, and even if he had done no more than plan the Church House he would deserve to be remembered. Another conspicuous "man of affairs" was Fraser of Manchester ; but in his case the "affairs" were diocesan, and in Lancashire his popularity was great indeed. The working men believed in him thoroughly. If we were to dwell upon the services in Church "affairs" of men still with us, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Davidson, Bishop Jacob of St. Albans, and Bishop Talbot of Southwark would come to the front.

The Evangelical bishops may be mentioned together. The most conspicuous was J. C. Ryle, distinguished at Oxford both in the schools and in athletics, best known as a writer of tracts and devotional books written in an incomparably clear English style, and afterwards a highly popular speaker at Church Congresses, appreciated not least by those who differed from him most widely. Uncompromisingly Evangelical as he was, he had learned before he became a bishop to advocate friendly co-operation with other schools ; and he startled his own party by his bold suggestions for Church Reform. As first Bishop of Liverpool, he had much prejudice to overcome ; but he organised the diocese with success, and thus prepared the way for the fine work of his successor, Bishop Chavasse, and for the great cathedral scheme. The next most prominent Evangelical bishop, A. W. Thorold, was appointed before Ryle ; but he was not so marked a party man. He was in special sympathy with the spiritual movements of the day, and, when Vicar of St. Pancras, was the first to organise a great united Parochial Mission in London. He might well be reckoned among the "men of affairs," as both Rochester and Winchester dioceses would testify. W. Boyd Carpenter was still less definitely of the Evangelical party, but his sympathies were all with them, while his views were broader. As an eloquent preacher and speaker he had no rival after Wilberforce and Magee were dead. He became

Bishop of Ripon in 1884, and has been there over a quarter of a century. The diocese of Sodor and Man has had a succession of Evangelical bishops, Rowley Hill, J. W. Bardsley (afterwards at Carlisle), N. Stratton (since at Newcastle). (Moule of Durham, Knox of Manchester, Drury of Sodor and Man belong to the new century.)

In 1885 Gladstone surprised the Church by the simultaneous appointment of E. H. Bickersteth to Exeter and E. King to Lincoln: the former also an Evangelical of large sympathies, whose gentle spirit and poetic mind presented to the Devonians a great contrast to the rugged strength of his predecessor, Temple; the latter the only representative on the Bench of the really advanced High Church party, who added at Lincoln to the high reputation that he brought from Oxford for personal spirituality and kindliness.

Lastly, bishops may be mentioned who held sees abroad prior to their appointments to English dioceses, viz. Moorhouse of Manchester and Kennion of Bath and Wells (and, in the new century, Harmer of Rochester). In intellect and in eloquence, Bishop Moorhouse was second to none in the English episcopate.

Let us come to the Deans. Undoubtedly the most distinguished was R. W. Church, Dean of St. Paul's, whom Gladstone wished to summon to the Primacy. He was perhaps the wisest and most cultured of all the younger Tractarians, as distinguished from the ultra-Ritualists. His successor, Dean Gregory, having been a canon for some years previously, has, as a capable "man of affairs," had the most to do with the great changes in the cathedral. At Westminster, the refined scholarship of Trench (afterwards Archbishop of Dublin), the brilliant historic imagination and social attractiveness of Stanley, the grave learning of Bradley, suited the unique position of the Dean of the Abbey. Canterbury had three learned Deans, Alford, Payne-Smith, and Farrar; the first excelling in scholarship, and the last in eloquence. Dean Howson of Chester and Dean Plumptre of Wells did much to popularise Biblical study. Dean Burdon of Chichester represented ecclesiastical conservatism, the New Lectionary and the Revised Version being the special objects of his vehement censures. Dean Goulburn of Norwich had the high privilege of giving the Church a book on Personal Religion which surpassed all similar books in influence and circulation; and his successor, Dean Lefroy, made the nave of the cathedral one of the most popular places of worship in the

country. Dean Vaughan of Llandaff exercised notable influence long before he was Dean, both by his writings and through the men whom he prepared for Orders. Many other deans were distinguished in different ways.

Of clergymen of lower official rank, the man of highest reputation in the later years of the century was Canon Liddon, whose Bampton Lectures and sermons at St. Paul's are elsewhere referred to. Second to him would be reckoned Canon Gore (not yet a bishop within the century), whose strong personality had great influence at Oxford, and whose books, *Lux Mundi* (in collaboration with others), Bampton Lectures, and many other works, have achieved a wide circulation. A third, also a contributor to *Lux Mundi*, would be Dr. Illingworth. A fourth, with a certain unique influence, would be the Master of Trinity, Dr. Montagu Butler. Of Biblical scholars, Dr. Driver, Dr. Sanday, Dr. Headlam, Dr. Knowling, Dr. Plummer, Dr. Swete, Dean Kirkpatrick, Dean Armitage Robinson, have come to the front. Dr. Wace, as Principal of King's College and editor of the Dictionary of Christian Biography, had a high reputation (and, still more in the new century as Dean of Canterbury, as a chief speaker in Convocation, and as leader of the Evangelical party). For varied influence Professor Collins (now Bishop of Gibraltar) should be mentioned; and Canon Hensley Henson, as an incisive controversialist, more or less "Broad." Among distinguished High Churchmen of various grades should be named Canons Scott Holland and Newbolt, Mr. Stuckey Coles, Mr. Frere, Dr. A. J. Mason (Master of Pembroke, Cambridge), Dr. Darwell Stone, and Mr. Waggett; and among Evangelicals, the late Canons Hoare and Tristram, Dr. Moule (now Bishop of Durham), Prebendary Webb-Peploe, Canon Aitken as chief "missioner," and, for wide and varied influence, Bishop Taylor Smith (now Chaplain-General). Of eminent lay Churchmen, the late Lord Selborne, within our period, would stand by himself; but the late Marquis of Salisbury and Mr. W. E. Gladstone were also both great Churchmen. Lord Halifax, as leader of the advanced High Church party and President of the E.C.U., has held a position quite unique. Since Lord Shaftesbury's death in 1886, the chief Evangelical lay leader has been Sir John Kennaway, President of the C.M.S.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CHURCH'S GROWTH AND WORK

1850-1900

New Dioceses—Diocesan Movements—Suffragan Bishops—Cathedrals—Church House—Parochial Organisation—Sunday-Schools—Church Services—Hymns—Training of Clergy—Brotherhoods, &c.—Lay Work—Home Missions—Women's Work—Philanthropic and Social Work—Education, Elementary and Higher—Devotional Agencies—Confession.

In this chapter, the last one on the history of the century, we must take a rapid survey of many departments of the Church's work not yet separately noticed. We shall find abundant evidence of progress of all kinds. There is indeed much that ought to be done but is not done. There are imperfections in every branch of labour. There are unfavourable features of the environment, and of the outlook. Nevertheless, there is growth, steady and healthy growth, and the growth is on the whole in the right direction, though not entirely so. If the fathers of 1800 could view the Church of England in 1900, they would be astonished indeed.

1. One of the most striking features of the later Church history of the century is the increased work and influence of the Episcopate. New dioceses have been formed; suffragan bishops have multiplied; diocesan organisation has developed greatly.

In the nineteenth century eight new dioceses were formed in England, viz. Ripon, 1836; Manchester, 1847; Truro, 1876; St. Albans, 1877; Liverpool, 1880; Newcastle, 1882; Southwell, 1884; Wakefield, 1888. Bristol was joined with Gloucester in 1836, but resumed its independence in 1897. (Birmingham and Southwark belong to the twentieth century.) Many changes of boundaries have also taken place. South London, for instance, was formerly partly in London and partly in Winchester; afterwards, in Rochester (and now in the new diocese of Southwark); and parts of Essex were first in London, then in Rochester, and now in St. Albans. The older dioceses have been rendered more manageable by the formation of the newer ones; thus, Manchester and Liverpool were both part of Chester; Ripon and Wakefield, part of York; Southwell, partly in Lincoln and

partly in Lichfield ; Newcastle, in Durham ; Truro, in Exeter. All the new ones have fully justified their formation ; notably, in the later years of the century, Truro and Liverpool. The first Bishop of Truro, E. W. Benson, became Archbishop of Canterbury, and the second, G. H. Wilkinson, built the cathedral. Liverpool, under Bishop Chavasse, has projected (and is now building) what will be one of the largest cathedrals in England.

2. Diocesan work and organisation have developed in all the dioceses, old and new. The Diocesan Conferences have already been noticed. All sorts of diocesan officers have, with the general advance of active Church life, had to be appointed, both paid and honorary, *e.g.* Inspectors of Schools, Editors of Diocesan Kalendars and Gazettes, and Secretaries of all sorts of Diocesan Funds and Societies. Diocesan meetings of various kinds, and combined services in the cathedrals, have become common ; and both clergy and leading laity of varying views are now accustomed to meet in friendly conference and co-operation.

3. The ever-increasing work has not been done by the Diocesan Bishops only. They could not possibly have met the demand for episcopal service. Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln, in 1870, was the first to revive the old office of Bishop-Suffragan by appointing a Bishop of Nottingham as his assistant ; and Archbishop Tait, in 1871, followed suit by appointing on the same basis a Bishop of Dover. (There are now, 1910, thirty Bishops-Suffragan, working in nineteen of the dioceses. London has three, *viz.* Stepney for the East, Islington for the North, Kensington for the West.) In a few cases Bishops-Suffragan have been subsequently appointed to diocesan sees, notably Bishop Walsham How, of Bedford (the title for a time for what is now Stepney), and Bishop Eden, of Dover, to be the first and second Bishops of Wakefield ; and Bishop G. F. Browne, of Stepney, to be the first Bishop of the revived diocese of Bristol. (Also, since 1900, two other Bishops of Stepney, Ingram and Lang, to London and York, and Bishop Knox, of Coventry, to Manchester.)

Much assistance has also been given by bishops who have retired from colonial and missionary sees as "Assistant-Bishops" without the royal commission. Bishops Barry of Sydney, Ingham of Sierra Leone, Mylne of Bombay, Marsden of Bathurst, Hutchinson of Barbados, Royston of Mauritius, Stirling of the Falkland Isles, Thornton of Ballarat, have done excellent work in various English dioceses. Bishop Walsh of Mauritius has the regular suffragan-bishopric of Dover.

4. Akin to the work of the Bishops is the work of the Cathedrals; and in nothing is the development of Church life more conspicuous than in the growth of their influence. In our second chapter it was observed that almost the only occasions when St. Paul's formerly woke up, so to speak, were great funerals, like the Duke of Wellington's in 1852. In 1849 Henry Venn, the C.M.S. Secretary, who was a Prebendary of St. Paul's, wrote of the handful of people gathered in the choir for a saints' day service, and said, "So low has the Protestantism of the Church of England sunk." But St. Paul's to-day is the brilliant centre of Church life in London—one may say in England, in view of the great special services of all kinds constantly held there, to say nothing of the regular services. The revival began in 1858, when for the first time, at Bishop Tait's suggestion, the cathedral opened its doors to a vast evening congregation; but the great development since is due to Deans Church and Gregory, Canon Liddon, and others. Liddon's afternoon sermons were of course great events, but the immense throngs that listened to them have little diminished since his day. St. Paul's has some fifty special services of various kinds each year, besides quite double that number in the crypt or the different chapels. Many of the cathedrals in the provinces have been similarly quickened into vigorous life—Norwich, for instance, under Dean Lefroy; and even those which in their little towns have had few local opportunities have become diocesan centres, and are in a very different condition from that of half a century ago. A residential canonry is not now a place for somnolent leisure. Take Exeter, for instance, where Bishop Bickersteth devised the excellent plan of giving each canon a definite sphere of service in the diocese, one taking Education, another Foreign Missions, and so on.

5. Reverting to the centre, we notice, as a conspicuous illustration of Church development, the Church House, the idea of which, as a memorial of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, we owe to Bishop Harvey Goodwin of Carlisle. His plan was severely criticised: why not give the money to the poor clergy? It would have been easy to distribute it so in driblets, and after a few years have nothing to show for it; but happily Goodwin stuck to his scheme, which, being warmly supported by Archbishop Benson, came to a successful conclusion. Where should we be now without the Church House? The wonder is how we managed before; but Church work was then much less, Church

meetings were much fewer, and Exeter Hall and St. James's Hall were available.

6. Parochial organisation has developed even more than diocesan organisation. The provision of parish halls, mission rooms, &c., is a signal illustration. In well-worked parishes it is not now always necessary to hold meetings in schoolrooms; and Bible-classes for men on Sunday afternoons, and men's gatherings of all kinds on week evenings, can be held in more comfortable surroundings. The Church, however, is still far behind the Nonconformists in regard to Sunday-schools, notwithstanding the energetic work of the Church of England Sunday-school Institute. The "chapel," not having an expensive day-school to keep up, throws its strength into its Sunday-school, which occupies a place in its arrangements quite different from that recognised by most of the clergy. Sunday-schools held a grand Centenary in 1880, in which Archbishops Tait and Thomson and the present Primate (then Mr. Davidson) took part, and which comprised, *inter alia*, a service at St. Paul's, a meeting in the Guildhall, and a great gathering of children in the grounds of Lambeth Palace; and similar festivals were held all over the country. But the influence of the Centenary scarcely reached to individual parishes, the clergy being always too full of day-school controversies and responsibilities to throw their real energies into the Sunday-school. Meanwhile a new "Catechism" method, borrowed from St. Sulpice, has been largely taken up by High Churchmen; but whether it will effect more in retaining children under Church influence remains to be seen. Even if it gives more systematic teaching—which is not clear—it certainly loses the personal influence of the teacher, who has often achieved good results even when he was not well qualified to teach.

7. Within the parish church, services have multiplied. In almost all parishes (except in remote country places) there is Holy Communion every Sunday, and often on other days. One of the most successful of modern plans is the Sunday afternoon Men's Service, invented by Mr. Watts Ditchfield at Highgate, and adopted in a vast number of churches. In some parishes there is a Men's Service in the Parish Hall instead, which is not so good, but has nevertheless drawn not a few men to the Church. Perhaps in no one thing has there been happier advance upon former days than in the Hymns; but this, of course, dates back nearly half a century. As we have before seen, hymns were

originally an Evangelical innovation, and it was long before the Church generally could rise above the level of Tate and Brady and the "Mitre" Hymnal. But *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, first published in 1861, at once superseded these and some later collections, its only rival in "high" or "via media" churches being the successive books of the S.P.C.K., particularly the latest, *Church Hymns*. All important religious movements have owed much to hymn-singing, from the days of Wesley downwards; and undoubtedly the High Church Revival of the past half-century is deeply indebted to the influence of *A. and M.*—although the book contains many of the best of the older Evangelical hymns. The Evangelicals, who had a large number of individual collections in their different churches, at length concentrated on E. H. Bickersteth's *Hymnal Companion*, first issued in 1870, and since then twice revised and enlarged. It, and *A. and M.*, and *Church Hymns*, now occupy almost all the ground.

8. Church Building and Restoration and Church Extension of all kinds have gone on apace. In addition to central Societies, almost every diocese now has an organisation for the purpose, particularly for the provision of new churches, mission-halls, &c., in populous towns and even suburban districts. It would be impossible here to give details.

9. For the Provision of Clergy a good deal was done during the latter half of the century. Before that, indeed, it had begun to be realised that if the clergy were to be fitted for spiritual work among the people, something more was needed than an Arts course at the Universities; and Diocesan Colleges had been established at Chichester and Wells in 1840. Bishop Wilberforce started Cuddesdon in 1853, and many other dioceses followed suit. These were primarily for graduates; but the Church's work now called for more men than could afford a course at Oxford or Cambridge. There was indeed King's College, London; and in 1846 and 1863 respectively St. Aidan's, Birkenhead, and St. John's, Highbury, were established. In the 'seventies the need of theological training for graduates was again felt; and the Leeds Clergy School was founded in 1876, and the Clergy Training School at Cambridge, under Dr. Westcott's auspices, in 1881. At the same time the Evangelicals founded Wycliffe Hall at Oxford (1878) and Ridley Hall at Cambridge (1881), which owe much to the personality of their Principals, Canon Girdlestone, Dr. Chavasse, Dr. Moule, Dr. Drury, and

others. Mention must also be made in passing of the valuable work done by Dr. Vaughan in training men under his own eye. In 1891 a notable experiment was begun by the Rev. Herbert Kelly, in the training from boyhood of youths who might be ordained in after years. He founded the "Society of the Sacred Mission," and opened a college (now at Kelham) for youthful students from all classes. He has begun with fair success, despite criticism of what looks like the Roman seminary system. (A similar work has since been commenced by the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield.) It may here be added that a great impetus to theological study has been given by the Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Examination for Orders, established in 1875, which is open to non-University men.

10. Many Brotherhoods, Orders, Guilds, Societies, were founded in the last three or four decades of the century, both for clergy and for laity of High Church principles. Of these the most important is the Society of St. John the Evangelist, the members of which are popularly called Cowley Fathers, their head-quarters being at Cowley St. John, Oxford. It was founded in 1865 by R. M. Benson, one of the leading conductors of Parochial Missions, with the threefold vow of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. It has Missions in India and South Africa. The Society of the Holy Cross and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament are also important organisations of an advanced type. But older than all is the Guild of St. Alban, for laymen, founded in 1851.

11. Lay Work distinctly advanced as the century grew. We have already seen the establishment of the House of Laymen and the organisation of Lay Readers. But Bishop Temple of London took an important step forward. Acting on the report of a strong Committee of the Diocesan Conference, he began the formation of a band of Diocesan Readers commissioned to conduct "extra" services in churches; and he applied the word "extra" to the sermon at Evensong, which is not a legal obligation. Eighteen laymen were solemnly admitted to this new office at St. Paul's Cathedral on March 21, 1891, and the numbers soon increased. Several other dioceses followed this example, although the Bishops used the word "extra" in various senses, and the evening sermon has not been allowed by all. Meanwhile, a great measure was adopted in 1899 by the union of four or five societies into the Church of England Men's Society, with a view to enrolling the rank and file for work

and prayer in the Church's behalf. The success of this movement has been remarkable. The Y.M.C.A. is not less successful. A more select body is the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, originally founded in the United States. Doctors, both men and women, have the Guild of St. Luke (1864). The army has the Guild of the Holy Standard and the Soldiers' Christian Association, which enrol men of Christian profession; and the Church of England Soldiers' and Sailors' Institutes Association provides Institutes for both services for recreation and for devotional purposes. The Army Scripture Readers' Association and the Royal Naval Scripture Readers' Society provide lay evangelists to work among soldiers and sailors respectively. The Missions to Seamen (1856) is a large and influential organisation which provides chaplains for ports both at home and abroad, chiefly for the benefit of the merchant service. It has seventy-nine mission-vessels of all sizes. This, however, is not in the main lay work. But the Church Lads' Brigade (1891) and the Boys' Brigade are carried on by laymen, and have done much for the religious good of the boys under their influence. And here should be mentioned the extensive and very effective work of the Children's Special Service Mission, the Children's Scripture Union, and the Schoolboys' Scripture Union, carried on by means of seaside services and many other methods, almost entirely by laymen, and though non-denominational, in fact for the most part by Churchmen. Bands of Hope, too, for the promotion of temperance among the young, have been actively worked in many parishes.

12. General Home Mission effort in all its varieties increased more and more decade by decade. The older Societies, the C.P.A.S. and the A.C.S. (before mentioned), provided an increasing number of assistant clergy, the C.P.A.S. also supplying lay and female workers; the Church Parochial Mission Society, with which Canon Aitken has been connected since its formation in 1876, did great service by the many Parochial Missions conducted by its missionaries; and London also benefited by the Diocesan Home Mission, the Church of England Scripture Readers' Association, and the London City Mission—this latter an interdenominational organisation. More modern, and highly efficient, is the Church Army, founded in 1882 by Mr. Wilson Carlile, then a curate at Kensington and now a Prebendary of St. Paul's. It was confessedly an imitation of the Salvation Army, an attempt to do similar work among the masses on de-

finitely Church lines ; and it is a striking illustration of the success which may attend one man's work. The Army has an Evangelistic Department, for open-air preaching, lantern services, colportage, rescue work, the visitation of prisons, reformatories, workhouses, lodging-houses, public-houses, &c. ; a Social Department, with shelters, relief dépôts, and labour-homes ; a Farm Colony, an Emigration Department, &c.

13. One of the most interesting of modern developments of Home Mission work has been the University, College, and Public School Missions, mostly in London. The most famous is Oxford House, in Bethnal Green, founded in 1884, and of which the present Bishop of London was Head in 1889-95. It represents Oxford University ; and two or three of the Colleges in addition have their Missions in the East End. Cambridge, both the University and several Colleges, has chosen South London as its special field ; while Eton, Harrow, and most of the other great Public Schools have their own Missions in various parts of the metropolis. Some few, however, supply other cities and towns ; Winchester, e.g., has its mission at Portsmouth. Along with these should be mentioned Toynbee Hall, in Whitechapel, which, however, is more social than religious.

14. Women's work has also greatly developed, both organised and individual. Women's Settlements have been established, to do work corresponding to that of the College Missions before mentioned. For instance, the Lady Margaret Hall Settlement, opened in 1897, and the United Girls' Schools' Mission, supported by 140 girls' schools, work in South London. St. Margaret's House, Bethnal Green, is actually the Ladies' Branch of the Oxford House. Similar institutions have been formed in some dioceses ; and the Grey Ladies are doing good service in the dioceses of Southwark, Ripon, and Worcester. Regular Sisterhoods have become numerous, and some of them have extensive spheres of labour in different parts of the country, notably the East Grinstead Sisterhood of St. Margaret, the Sisters of Bethany, the Kilburn Sisters, the Clewer Sisters, and the Wantage Sisters. Deaconesses are more definitely diocesan and less independent of the Bishops. Several dioceses have organised bands of them. This movement owed much to the advocacy of Dean Howson, the joint author of the *Life of St. Paul*. The Mildmay Deaconesses, a band started by the Rev. W. Pennefather, are not officially connected with the Church, but the large majority of them are Churchwomen. Nursing is another important branch of women's

work, initiated originally, as before mentioned, by Miss Nightingale. There are many Nursing Institutions, and the Church Nurses Guild and the Guild of St. Barnabas are for the benefit of the nurses themselves. Time and Talents is an association of upper-class girls for mutual benefit and Christian service. Among great organisations for particular classes of women must be mentioned the Mothers' Union (1887), with its 6000 branches, presided over by Mrs. Sumner; the Girls' Friendly Society (1875), with its 1400 branches; and the Young Women's Christian Association, one of the many institutions that are interdenominational in basis and in work, but largely promoted and carried on by Church people. More general is the Church of England Women's Help Society, designed "to help women, young and old, married and single, to lead Christian lives"; while the National Union of Women Workers, organised in 1895, with Mrs. Creighton as its first President, seeks to band together all women engaged in practical Christian and philanthropic service. But a very large part of the agency of women in good work is not organised at all. Wives and sisters and daughters of the clergy are engaged in parochial effort; and a vast number of others in the branches of Christian labour noticed in our sixth chapter.

15. The Philanthropic and Social Work of Church people, men and women, is manifold indeed, and has largely increased in the period under review. It would be impossible in these pages even to enumerate the branches and departments of it, or the varied organisations engaged in Temperance, Purity, Rescue and Reformatory effort, Hospital and Dispensary work, the care of Waifs and Strays, &c. The Church of England Temperance Society, a result, as before mentioned, of Archdeacon Sandford's Report to Convocation, and the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society, are in the front line in the campaign against evil. Purity and rescue work is naturally carried on with less publicity; but the White Cross League has gained considerable influence, and the Church Year Book gives a long list of Penitentiaries, Houses of Mercy, &c., many of them diocesan. Under this general head should be mentioned the Christian Social Union, founded in 1889, which has so able an organ in Canon Scott Holland's magazine, *The Commonwealth*.

16. In Elementary Education, of course, the Church has continued to take a large share. Besides the National Society, Diocesan Boards or Societies have done much for the cause of

religious instruction, and have provided the Diocesan Inspectors needed for the inspection of such instruction. Undeterred by the trend of public policy against Church influence, indeed stimulated by it, bishops, clergy, and laity have persevered in building and improving Church Schools, which still educate about half the children in the country ; much more than half in the rural districts, though a smaller proportion in the large towns. The relation of the State to these efforts has been treated in previous chapters, and will be again noticed in the concluding chapter. Under this head may be mentioned the great services of the S.P.C.K., both directly in educational work and in the provision of popular Christian literature ; and in the latter department the Religious Tract Society must also be gratefully alluded to, for its important help to the Church as well as to other denominations.

17. In Higher Religious Education and Study there has been good progress. Efficient schools for boys and girls of the upper and middle classes have been established, based on definite Church principles, though not all alike in ecclesiastical colour. The Woodard Schools began just before the second half-century, Lancing College having been opened in 1848 ; and there are now eight for boys and five for girls. These are on High Church lines ; while the Dean Close School at Cheltenham (1886), the St. Lawrence College at Ramsgate (1879), Trent College in the Midlands (1866), and the Parkstone High School for Girls are Evangelical. The Church Schools Company was founded in 1883 under Archbishop Benson's auspices, and has some fifteen schools, and the Church Girls High School Company (1877) has two. Several of the ancient Cathedral Schools, at Canterbury, Durham, Ely, &c., have an important place in this category. Church Reading Unions and Societies were established in many dioceses in the later years of the century, and are doing valuable work in promoting the continuance of Christian studies in adult life. With these should be mentioned the Central Society for Sacred Study, which aims higher, and is mainly for the clergy.

18. Lastly, Devotional Agencies for the Promotion of Spiritual Life must be noticed. Retreats, Quiet Days, Conventions, all came into frequent use in the last quarter of the century ; sometimes for the clergy, sometimes for laymen, sometimes for women, sometimes for earnest Christian people generally. A Quiet Day has come to be a common feature in gatherings of three or four

days for other Church purposes. Conventions or Conferences have mostly been on non-denominational lines, the Mildmay Conference and the Keswick Convention having been the prototypes of numerous local meetings of a similar kind, most of which have been started by Anglican clergymen. But latterly Diocesan Conventions have been arranged by some of the bishops, at which both well-known speakers at Mildmay and Keswick and leading divines of other schools have united in giving spiritual addresses, Bible-readings, &c. Devotional literature has also largely increased, and the works of the late Bishop Wilkinson of St. Andrews, Bishop Moule of Durham, Bishop Walpole of Edinburgh, and others, have had a large circulation. One method of promoting spiritual life which has been widely adopted cannot be passed over, although it must be mentioned with regret and disapproval—Sacramental Confession. Suffice it here to quote the utterance on the subject of the Lambeth Conference of 1878 :—

“ Having in view certain novel practices and teachings on the subject of Confession, they desire to affirm that the Churches of the Anglican Communion hold fast those principles which are set forth in Holy Scripture, which were professed by the Primitive Church, and which were re-affirmed at the English Reformation. It is their deliberate opinion that no minister of the Church is authorised to require from those who resort to him to open their griefs a particular and detailed enumeration of all their sins ; or to require private confession before receiving the Holy Communion ; or to enjoin or even encourage the practice of habitual confession to a priest ; or to teach that such practice of habitual confession, or the being subject to what has been termed the direction of a priest, is a condition of obtaining the highest spiritual life. At the same time, they desire not to be understood as desiring to limit in any way the provision made in the Book of Common Prayer for the relief of troubled consciences.”

Many persons who have been awakened to a sense of sin, for instance at a Parochial Mission, and who have found that they could not “quiet their consciences,” have gone, as the Prayer Book advises, to a “discreet and learned Minister,” and have found real help in the unburdening of conscience, perhaps in the form of “confession” of a particular sin, perhaps in that of a more general acknowledgment of felt alienation from God. But that is a very different thing from the compulsory “confession,” followed by the formal “absolution,” which is condemned in these weighty words of the Bishops.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW CENTURY

New Bishops—New Dioceses—Supply of Clergy—Church Finance—C.R.L. and C.E.M.S.—Education Question—Ritual Controversy—Athanasian Creed—Representative Church Council—Pan-Anglican Congress—Lambeth Conference—Social Questions—Home Reunion—World Missionary Conference.

As this little book is written ten years after the close of the century whose history it attempts to summarise, it seems desirable to add a short chapter on the events of the decade, and thus make the story somewhat more complete.

1. The decade has seen the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Temple, and the retirement of the Archbishop of York, Dr. Maclagan. Bishop Randall Davidson of Winchester succeeded the former in 1903, and the Suffragan Bishop of Stepney, Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang, succeeded the latter in 1908. Dr. Lang's predecessor in the East End bishopric, Dr. Winnington-Ingram, became Bishop of London in 1901, on the death of Bishop Creighton. Dr. Handley Moule succeeded Dr. Westcott as Bishop of Durham in 1901, and Bishop H. E. Ryle of Exeter succeeded Bishop Davidson at Winchester in 1903. Two new dioceses came into being in 1905, Birmingham and Southwark. The former was carved out of Worcester; and Dr. Gore, who had become Bishop of Worcester in 1902, chose the new section, and took the title of Bishop of Birmingham; being succeeded at Worcester by Dr. Yeatman-Biggs, Suffragan Bishop of Southwark. The latter was formed by a rearrangement of the dioceses of Rochester, Winchester, and Canterbury; and the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Talbot, took the new see, being succeeded by Bishop Harmer of Adelaide. In 1903 Bishop Jacob of Newcastle was translated to St. Albans, being followed in the former see by Dr. Lloyd, and he, in 1907, by Bishop Stratton of Sodor and Man, to which diocese was appointed Dr. Drury, Principal of Ridley Hall. Another translation was that of the Suffragan Bishop of Coventry, Dr. Knox, to the bishopric of Manchester in 1903. Other appointments have been: Dr. Robertson, Principal of King's College, to Exeter (1903); Dr. Hoskyns, Bishop-Suffragan of Burnley, to Southwell (1904); Dr. Diggle to

Carlisle, Dr. Chase to Ely, Dr. Gibson to Gloucester, Dr Hughes to Llandaff, all in 1905 ; Dean Stubbs to Truro (1906) ; Dean Ridgeway to Chichester (1908) ; Dr. Pollock to Norwich in 1910 ; Canon Hicks to Lincoln in 1910, on the death of the venerated Bishop King. The principal appointments to deaneries have been : Dr. Armitage Robinson to Westminster (1902), Dr. Wace to Canterbury (1903), Bishop Welldon, late of Calcutta, to Manchester (1906), Dr. Moore Ede to Worcester (1908), and Dr. Russell Wakefield to Norwich (1909). It is indisputable that most of these were good appointments, the more important of them especially so.

2. The need of a further division of dioceses is keenly felt. Schemes are already well forward for the formation of a diocese of Sheffield out of York, and for a rearrangement of the East Anglian dioceses, Norwich, Ely, and St. Albans, including the formation of new dioceses for Suffolk and Essex ; and plans are on foot for Lichfield, Manchester, and Oxford. To avoid the need of obtaining a separate Act of Parliament for each see, the Bishop of St. Albans has submitted a general enabling Bill for their formation by Order in Council.

3. A very serious matter, which has led to much discussion during the decade, is the shortage of clergy. From 1886 to 1904 there was almost a continuous decrease in the number of men ordained ; and although there has since been some revival, there was in the twenty-three years 1886-1909 a total shortage of 3268, whereas, if the increase of population is taken into account, there ought to have been an increase of 2300 on the standard of 1886. One proposed remedy is to raise the standard of qualifications ; for in other professions this, instead of discouraging candidature, as might be supposed, actually stimulates it. Accordingly, the Bishops of the Canterbury Convocation, in 1909, resolved that after a certain date (1917) all candidates must have a degree, and also have had a year's special training in a recognised Theological College. Plans are also proposed for assisting candidates financially.

4. This last point introduces the subject of Church Finance, which calls loudly for inquiry and reform. It has been brought to the front mainly by the energy of Canon Bullock-Webster ; and the two Archbishops have appointed a strong special committee, chiefly of laymen, to consider and report on the whole matter. It involves : (a) the maintenance of the beneficed clergy, whose incomes have been greatly reduced in recent years, nearly

one-third being under £200 a year in actual value, and of these more than a fourth under £100; (b) the maintenance of assistant clergy; (c) the pensioning of the clergy; and (d) the supply of candidates. The Ecclesiastical Commission, by admirable management of the Church property put under its control by the legislation referred to in our third chapter, has done a remarkable work in augmenting endowments and other ways; and valuable help has also been rendered by Queen Anne's Bounty, the Queen Victoria Clergy Fund, the Curates' Augmentation Fund, the Clergy Pensions Institution, &c. Nevertheless, the need for further action remains. Meanwhile, it is encouraging to note the amount of voluntary contributions for Church purposes. For the year 1909 it exceeded £8,000,000.

5. Two Societies have in the past decade come prominently forward, which, in very different ways, encourage good hopes for the future of the Church—the Church Reform League and the Church of England Men's Society. The former, with its energetic Secretary, Mr. A. Holdsworth, does much to create a public opinion on the right of the Church to carry out its own reforms by its own assemblies (reserving always the due rights of the State), and in favour of particular reforms touching patronage, finance, diocesan extension, &c. The latter, mentioned in a previous chapter as having absorbed three or four old societies, has had the great advantage of the presidency, and active labours, of Dr. Lang, now Archbishop of York, and its progress has been remarkable all through the decade, having now 3000 branches and over 100,000 members, including the Army and Navy and the Colonies. Wherever in a parish there is now a band of earnest men of all ranks united in prayer and Christian work, there is almost sure to be a branch of the C.E.M.S.

6. During the decade the Education Question has been acute. With a view to assisting the Church Schools, which found it hard to meet the competition of the ever-increasing Board Schools, supported as these were by local rates as well as the Government grants, Mr. Balfour, in 1902, passed a Bill through Parliament to give rate support to the former also. At the same time School Boards were abolished, and Education was committed to the County Councils and other ordinary municipal authorities; and other minor changes were made, with a view to securing more popular management. Archbishop Temple declared that putting Church Schools on the rates would cause trouble; and so it has proved. The Nonconformist grievance

of having not only to let their children receive Church teaching or none in the rural districts, but also to pay rates to support the schools that give that teaching, was partly responsible for the Conservative defeat at the general election of 1906. The new Government accordingly brought in a Bill to meet this grievance and at the same time to unify the whole system. But it failed to pass, and so did two other Bills successively introduced with similar objects. It would be impossible here to give details; but it should be added that the defeat of Bill after Bill was largely due to the strenuous opposition of three distinguished Churchmen, the Bishop of Manchester, the Dean of Canterbury, and Lord Halifax. They also successfully resisted the efforts of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops to effect a compromise which they thought not fair to the Church. But the end is not yet. The problem awaits solution, and will have to be solved.

7. Another great subject of controversy has been, still, the Ritual question. With a view to meet drastic proposals made in Parliament, Mr. Balfour, in 1904, appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole subject. The Commissioners included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Gibson (now Bishop of Gloucester), Dr. Drury (now Bishop of Sodor and Man), the Marquis of Northampton, Sir J. Kennaway, Sir Lewis Dibdin, &c.; and the Chairman was Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, now Lord St. Aldwyn. After two years of close inquiry and discussion, they presented (June 1906) an unanimous Report, which excited universal interest for its ability, impartiality, and completeness. In addition to strong condemnation of certain extreme practices, there was one principal recommendation, viz. that the Crown should be asked to issue Letters of Business to the Convocations, with instructions (*a*) to "consider the preparation" of a new Ornaments Rubric, (*b*) "to frame such modifications in the existing law . . . as may tend to secure the greater elasticity which a reasonable recognition of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England and of its present needs seems to demand." On this work the Convocations are still engaged; but a strong agitation has arisen among High Churchmen against any revision whatever of the Prayer Book at the present time, and, on the other hand, a large proportion of the Evangelical party protest against any change involving the permissive use of the Vestments, which the Lower House has proposed, and which the Upper House of the York Convocation has also contemplated.

8. In the meanwhile the question of the Athanasian Creed has again come to the front. In 1904 the Bishop of Bristol raised it in Convocation, and the following resolution was eventually passed :—

“That this House, while it recognises, as taught in Holy Scriptures, the truth, often overlooked, that every man is responsible before God for the faith which he holds, and while it believes that this Scriptural truth is what the minatory clauses of the *Quicunque Vult* were primarily intended to express, acknowledges, nevertheless, that in their *prima facie* meaning, and in the mind of many who hear them, those clauses convey a more unqualified statement than Scripture warrants, and one which is not consonant with the language of the greatest teachers of the Church.”

In 1905 the Bishop of Birmingham proposed that any clergyman might apply to his bishop for leave to omit the recitation of the Creed. This also was carried ; but it was agreed to defer further action until after the Lambeth Conference of 1908. That Conference, consisting as it did of representatives of Churches both using and not using the Creed, declined to make any recommendation, but recognised the liberty of individual Churches in the matter. The question now turned up in Convocation as affecting the revision of the Prayer Book ; and the Lower House eventually resolved (1909), “That the *Quicunque Vult* should be retained in the Prayer Book without the existing rubric, and that provision be made for the liturgical use of a form of the *Quicunque Vult* without the warning clauses.”

9. One of the most important events of the decade in the interests of the Church has been the institution of the Representative Church Council, by the combination of six bodies, viz. the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation, and the House of Laymen, in each of the two Provinces of Canterbury and York. Its first meeting was in July 1904 ; but this was regarded as in a sense informal, because the permanent franchise for the Lay Houses had not then been settled. This question caused much discussion, and eventually a compromise was arrived at by the efforts of the Bishops of Birmingham and Southwark and Lord Hugh Cecil, against the extreme High Churchmen. The constitution was finally agreed to in November 1905. Since then the Council has met yearly, and the proceedings have excited great interest, seeing that now, for the first time in history, the bishops and representative clergy and laity of the Church meet together and discuss Church questions. But the Council still needs a truer representation of the clergy, which can only be obtained by the reform of Convocation.

10. Another conspicuous event of the decade was the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908. This was a scheme of Bishop Montgomery's, and few projects have ever had a more completely successful accomplishment. The preparations lasted four years, there being much correspondence with branches of the Church in all parts of the world. Hundreds of delegates, bishops, clergymen, laymen, women, came from remote dioceses; and these, with great numbers of home members, filled several halls in London simultaneously for a full week. There were seven sections, viz. (A) the Church and Human Society, (B) Christian Truth and other Intellectual Forces, (C) the Church's Ministry, (D) Missions in Non-Christian Lands, (E) Missions in Christendom, (F) the Anglican Communion, (G) the Church's Work among the Young; in all of which the discussions proved of real interest and value. The opening service at the Abbey, and the Thanksgiving Service at St. Paul's, were most impressive; and the latter included the presentation of a Thank-Offering to God, which finally amounted to £352,000. The Archbishops appointed a special committee to allot this to different Colonial Churches and mission-fields, which is still engaged in the work. The general effect of the Congress was to create quite a new sense of the reality and greatness of the Anglican Communion; while at the same time the tone of the proceedings was one of humility and acknowledgment of shortcoming. Not on the Church's rights, but on its duties, was the chief stress laid.

11. Immediately following the Congress came the fifth Lambeth Conference, attended by 242 bishops. The Reports issued by it were of exceptional value; and the Encyclical Letter was one of the most stirring documents ever given to the Church. Its keynote was Service. "The Church," it said—using the word Church in the broadest sense as "the whole Society of Christian men throughout the world,"—is "ordained of God for the service of mankind." "At the heart of that conception of the Church which Christ our Lord has taught us is the thought of service. For He came, 'not to be ministered unto, but to minister.'" "The Church is set to portray and to represent Him amongst men," and "the Church will be true to its calling in proportion as it can say to the world, by word and deed, by what it refuses and by what it claims—'I come, not to be ministered unto, but to minister.'" The great feature of the Conference, as of the Pan-Anglican Congress, was that stress was laid, not on the

Church's rights, but on her duties; not on her privileges, but on her responsibilities.

12. Two subjects discussed in and reported on by the Lambeth Conference have been much in the minds of Churchmen during the decade, viz. the Church's Social Duties and Reunion and Inter-communion. The former subject has come to the front partly through the influence of the Christian Social Union, of which the Bishops of Birmingham and Southwark and Canon Scott Holland are leading members; while among the Evangelical clergy Dr. Chadwick has taken a conspicuous part in the movement. "It is the duty of the Church," said one of the Lambeth Conference Reports, "to apply the truths and principles of Christianity, especially the fundamental truths of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man, to the solution of social and economic difficulties, to awaken and educate the social conscience, to further its expression in legislation (while preserving its own independence of political party), and to strive, above all, to present Christ before men as a Living Lord and King in the realm of common life." This movement has already not been fruitless. Its influence on legislation has been manifest, but for lack of space particular Acts of Parliament cannot be here noticed.

13. Touching the other subject, much has been spoken and written on the divisions of Christendom and various ways of healing them. The Lambeth Conference dealt with the question in a generous spirit which was cordially welcomed on all sides. But the real difficulties remain. Inter-communion with non-episcopal Churches involves a recognition of their status and orders which High Churchmen generally are slow to grant; and, on the other hand, Reunion involves, almost necessarily, an acceptance of the Historic Episcopate for which Presbyterians and Congregationalists are scarcely prepared. There does seem, however, to have been some drawing together of Churchmen and Nonconformists in practical service. This is not new among Evangelicals, but it is new among men of other schools. The Student Christian Movement has had unexpected influence in this respect. The awakening of the national conscience in regard to the Opium Traffic with China and the atrocities on the Congo has ranged High Churchmen and Dissenters shoulder to shoulder; and so have the efforts of many leaders of both sections to promote peaceful relations between England and Germany. The campaign against intemperance at home would have helped

to do so, but for the unfortunate intrusion of political differences concerning the Licensing Bill introduced by the Liberal Government but rejected by the House of Lords.

One of the most significant tokens of the general desire for united action was an incident of 1906, two years before the Lambeth Conference. On the initiation, apparently, of the Bishop of Birmingham, and of Mr. Jowett, minister of Carr's Lane Church in that city, the official chiefs of the principal Christian Communions in Great Britain united in appealing for special prayer on Whitsunday. Their memorable Letter said :—

“ We agree in deprecating at present any large schemes of corporate reunion, which seem to us to be premature, or any attempts to treat some existing religious divergences as unimportant ; but we agree, also, in believing profoundly that our Lord Jesus Christ meant us to be one in visible fellowship ; we feel profoundly the paralysing effect upon the moral forces of Christianity which our divisions inevitably produce ; and we recognise with the fullest conviction that it is the duty of all Christians, who desire in this respect the fulfilment of the Divine purpose, to give themselves to penitence and prayer—to penitence, because we have all, in various ways, as bodies and as individuals, contributed to produce and perpetuate differences ; and to prayer, because what we all alike need is that God should open our minds and hearts to receive without prejudice the gradual revelation of His will as to the ways by which we are to be drawn together.”

This Letter was signed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church (Bishop Wilkinson), the Moderators of the three Presbyterian Churches (English, Established Scotch, and the United Free), Chairman of the Congregational Union (Mr. Jowett), the President of the Baptist Union (Mr. Meyer), and the Presidents of the three Methodist denominations, Wesleyan, United, and New Connexion. The Roman Archbishop of Westminster was invited to sign, but replied that it was “ not in accordance with the custom and tradition ” of the Roman Church to unite in such movements, although they always prayed on Whitsunday “ mainly for the object which ” the signatories “ had at heart.”

A more conspicuous and more recent event which has illustrated the general desire for greater unity among Christians was the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. It was notable, not only for the important discussions upon the whole policy of Foreign Missions, both on paper beforehand and during the meetings, but also for the frankness with which men of widely different ecclesiastical views and connections met, without compromise, to consider questions of common interest.

So far as the English Church was concerned, the occasion was especially memorable for the presence of distinguished High Churchmen, who for the first time (except to a small extent in Student Conferences) followed the long-standing example of their Evangelical brethren in joining with the members of other communions in common prayer and open conference. So much Christian fellowship, and so much united prayer, cannot be without fruit.

Here this supplementary chapter may conveniently close. The opening decade of the twentieth century confirms the conviction assured by a review of the nineteenth century that "the Lord hath been mindful of us," and that "He will bless us."

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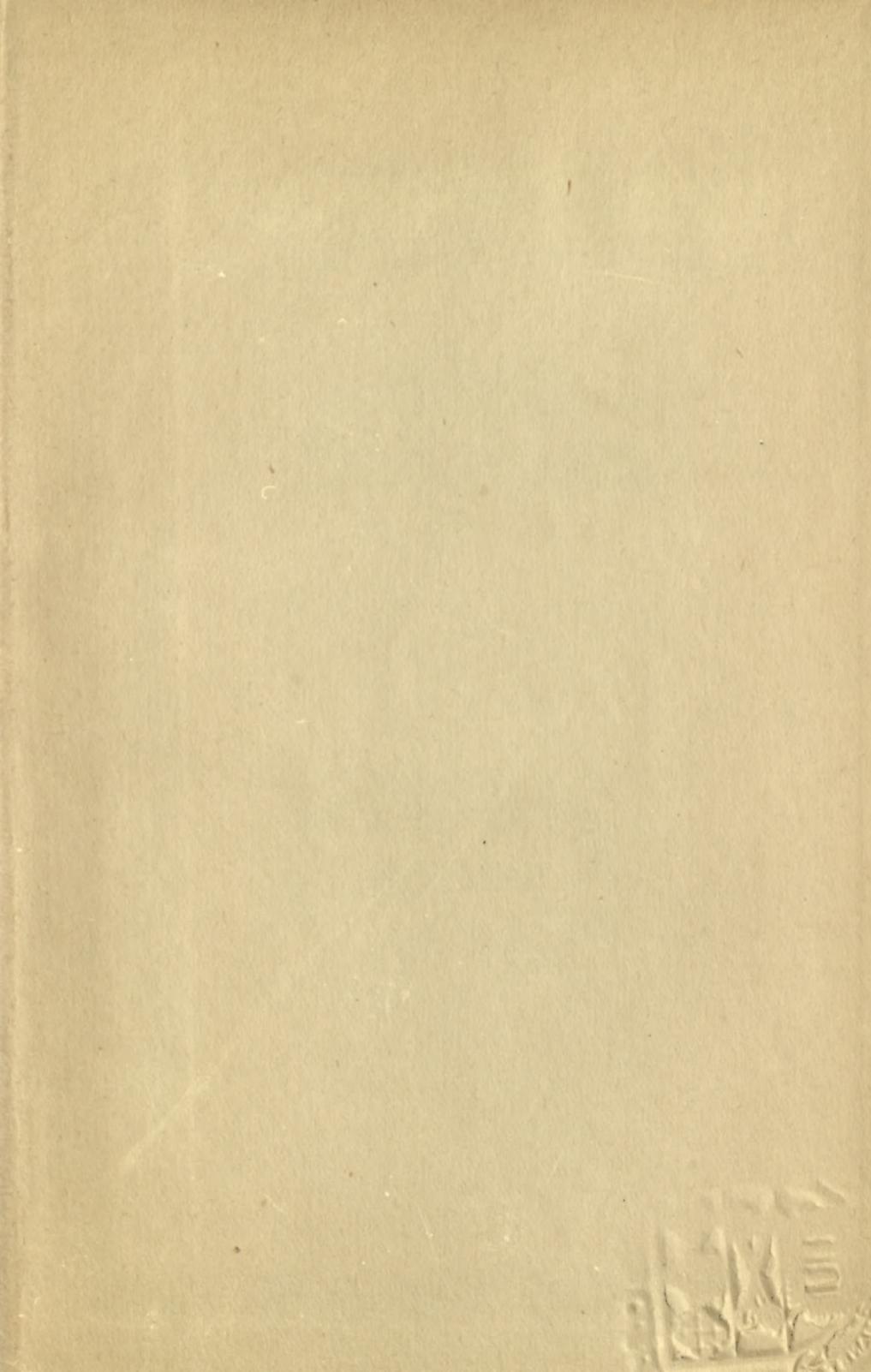
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